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CALIFORNIA

AND THE

JAPANESE

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By
KIICHI KANZAKI
General Secretary of Japanese Association of America

444 Bush Street, San Francisco, California
Price Fifty Cents: Including Postage

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PREFACE

THE FOLLOWING fourteen chapters are based upon the statement submitted to the Subcommittee of the House Committee on Immigration at the hearing it held in San Francisco in July, 1920. Although the data herein presented and the argument followed are in the main the same as those presented in the document submitted to the Immigration Committee, I have used considerable new material and have also taken advantage of the developments which have taken place since the hearing of the Immigration Committee. My statements submitted to that Committee will, I understand, be embodied in a voluminous document which will soon be published by the Government, setting forth all the proceedings of the hearings held by the said Committee on the Pacific Coast last year. In presenting these chapters in the present form, therefore, it is my duty to thank the Immigration Committee for permission to use the same data given in the statement submitted to it.

Much has been written and spoken on the Japanese question in America. Unfortunately, most of such writings and utterances are indiscriminate or biased. They are not based upon authentic and accurate data, nor do they follow unprejudiced logic and reason.

The absence of accurate information on the question has been keenly felt by all who wish to understand it. It is my hope that these chapters, inadequate as they are, will at least partially meet the demand which I am sure has been widely felt.

As General Secretary of the Japanese Association of America for the past six years I have had a unique opportunity of observing and studying the conditions prevailing among the Japanese. I am fully aware that my qualifications and my ability have not been equal to the splendid opportunity that has been given me, but I venture to say that I have striven to inform myself to the best of my ability. Whatever may be the defects of these chapters, I hope that I have approached the subject without prejudice and considered it without passion.

The Japanese question in California is not a local question. It is a world question. Upon the wise or unwise treatment of the question depends peace or discord between the two great Powers bordering upon the Pacific. It is, therefore, the duty of all men and women, and especially the leading publicists on both sides of the water, to consider the question dispassionately, with a view to arriving at a solution which

will protect the interests of the American people without, at the same time, infringing upon the honor of the Japanese. There is no question pending between the two countries that can not be amicably settled by mutual concession and conciliation. Peace among nations, like harmony among individuals, can be maintained only by mutual observance of the principle of "live and let live." I do not believe that the wise leaders of America, as well as those in Japan, will ignore this obvious fact.

In concluding these remarks it is my pleasure as well as my duty to acknowledge my indebtedness to Mr. S. Kusama, Research Secretary of the Japanese Association of America, and Mr. Roy Akagi, Fellow in History at Harvard University, who have rendered me invaluable service in the preparation of this volume. At the same time, I wish to make it plain that I alone am responsible for any misstatement or error which may be found in these chapters.

I am more than conscious that from a literary point of view the book leaves much room for improvement. Indeed, it is with great hesitation that I submit this document to the public, knowing that it is an imposition upon the indulgence of the reader. Apart from my insufficient command of English, the pressure of duties as Secretary of the Association, coupled with added work incident to my approaching departure to Japan, has prevented me from being more careful in the preparation of this humble volume, both as to the use of English and as to the arrangement of data. I am, however, sure that my readers will be generous enough to overlook such shortcomings and will try to understand the facts and arguments which, though presented in inadequate language, proceed from a sincere and earnest solicitude for mutual understanding in the interest of international peace, as well as for the honor of the American people, whose tradition of justice and fair play is deeply involved in the adjustment of the question.

San Francisco, April, 1921. K. Kanzaki.

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CHAPTER I

THE JAPANESE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA

Historical Background.—When in 1888 Congress passed the Chinese Exclusion Act excluding Chinese laborers, it not only barred new immigrants but prevented the Chinese laborers from returning to America. Into the vacuum created by the shortage of Chinese laborers on the Pacific slope, the Japanese were drawn who met the demand for cheap and efficient labor for the industries then fast developing in the West. As the number of Japanese immigrants increased, however, an agitation against them began to be gradually voiced among the white laborers in California. And by the year 1900 the labor unions of the State took definite steps in excluding Japanese immigrants from California. The Japanese immigrants thus entered into the competitive labor market, filling the places gradually abandoned by the Chinese. In so doing they aroused the racial antagonism of the Oriental exclusionists who had closed the doors to the Chinese laborers only a decade or two ago, and thus the Japanese inherited the adverse sentiment of the people against the Orientals.

During these incipient agitations, and particularly at the time when the Japanese, as well as the Americans, suffered from the bubonic plague about 1900, the Japanese in San Francisco often met together to discuss expedient ways to meet such situations. The result of these occasional meetings was an organization of a community council with public spirited men of the Japanese group. In August, 1900, this organization received a certificate from the California State Department under the name of the Japanese Association of America which was the forerunner of the present organization. Other Japanese communities in the State gradually followed suit, and organized associations of one sort or another. In 1905 the Association of San Francisco urged the other local organizations in California to call the representatives together in order to establish working relations among the local organizations, so that the Japanese could solve their common problems with better understanding. This was realized and in May, 1905, representatives gathered in San Francisco and held a conference of various organizations. In the next four years these local organizations gradually perfected a working program in their relation to the central body, and in 1909 the first convention met in San Francisco with 37 delegates representing 23 associations in California and Colorado. At this convention the Japanese Association of America was made the central and directing organization of the affiliated associations. Since then this Association has continued its function, looking after the welfare of the Japanese in this country and particularly on the Pacific slope. It is interesting to note that in one respect these organizations were the product of anti-Japanese agitation, and the critical conditions which the Japanese had to face in adjusting themselves to the new environment. The organization in San Francisco was the result of the first popular wave of the anti-Japanese movement which passed over

the city in 1900. The call of local representatives was the outcome of the bitter attack made upon the Japanese by the San Francisco *Chronicle* in February, 1905. The first Delegate Convention was brought about when the California legislative measures became more and more threatening to the Japanese. The subsequent events have proved that whenever an anti-Japanese movement was active in the State some new functions were added to the Association.

That similar experiences and efforts have been made by the Japanese communities of other states may be shown by the fact that at present there are five central associations on the Pacific Coast which meet in conference every year. There are also two independent organizations, one in Chicago and the other in New York City.

The Japanese Association of America.—The Japanese Association of America has been incorporated under the California State law since August 4, 1900. It is the central organization comprising forty affiliated local Japanese Associations covering California, Nevada, Utah and Colorado, with the exception of nine southern counties of California. (Vide appendix C, the agreement of the Japanese Association of America.) It has a membership of about 16,000 Japanese, comprising those who recognize the policy and the purpose of the Association.

The highest organ of the Association is the Convention, consisting of a certain specified number of representatives of local affiliated Associations. It meets once a year in January and discusses and adopts the policy and budget of the Association for the ensuing year. It also elects from among the members of the affiliated Associations a Board of Directors whose duty it is to supervise the work of the Association according to the Agreement and By-Laws and the resolutions adopted at the Convention. The Board of Directors then elects a President, a Vice-President and a Committee on Management of seven members. The President represents the Association in general and supervises all the affairs of the Association according to the Agreement and By-Laws. The Committee on Management is organized into an executive body which appoints the General Secretary and Assistants, checks the monthly meetings of the Executive Council, and drafts, discusses and adopts the plans for the regular business of the Association.

When there is a necessity for incorporating a new local association and affiliating it with the Central Association, an application stating detailed reasons therefore must be filed with the Association and its permission must be obtained. The permission is only issued upon recognition of such necessity by the Board of Directors.

Financial Sources of the Association.—The general expenditure of the Association is met through a fifteen per cent assessment on the membership fees collected by the local affiliated Associations, fees for endorsing certificates, fees for legal advice, and contributions by individuals. The annual budget is formulated and adopted by the Delegate Convention in January each year.

Thus the Japanese Association of America is a self-supporting independent body and has no connection whatever, either political or finan-

cial, with the Government of Japan. A charge has been made against this Association of its having official relations with the Japanese Government. This false charge has arisen from a misunderstanding of the details connected with the endorsement of applications or various certificates by Japanese residents. When a Japanese resident desires a certificate from the Japanese Consul, he first fills out an application for a certificate and presents it to the Japanese Association. The Association then investigates the applicant's character and standing before it will endorse his application. After his application has been endorsed he may then present it to the Japanese Consul and receive his certificate. This co-operation between the Association and the Consulate is primarily to facilitate the official transactions of the Consulate and to minimize the applicant's trouble in filing various documentary evidences with the Consul. It in no way implies any Government control or supervision over the Japanese Association, but is intended to assist members in making applications. It also relieves the Consulate of the labor of the necessary investigation in issuing certificates. For such services the Association charges a certain amount which is added to the general income of the organization. But this service is only an incidental matter to the multiple work performed by the Association.

The Purpose of the Association.—The purpose of the Association is stated in the Agreement as follows:

"The purpose of this Association shall be to elevate the character of Japanese residing in America, to protect their rights and privileges, to promote their happiness and prosperity, and to cultivate better understanding between the peoples of Japan and the United States of America."

In order to fulfill this object, the Association carries on various activities of which the following are most important.

Protection of Newcomers.—Ever since its incorporation, the Association has employed an American and a Japanese secretary for the protection and guidance of Japanese arriving here.

One of the secretaries appears before the Immigration office every time Japanese arrive at the port of San Francisco, and not only aids them through all the formalities of landing, but also sees that each newcomer understands and practices his new duties as a resident in the new land. Our aim is to protect and aid the newcomers through cooperation with every institution connected with immigration. For this work alone the Association annually appropriates over four thousand dollars.

As to the Americanization of the immigrants, the Association tries to utilize every possible opportunity. For example, it publishes, at considerable cost, the pamphlet entitled "The Guide for Newcoming Women" which is freely distributed among the women aboard the incoming steamers. This pamplet describes and explains fully American customs and manners, mode of living and dress, etiquette, both private and public, and the American social structure and prevailing traditions.

Legal Aids and Advice.—The Association employs an advisory attorney and a special secretary to take charge of the legal aspects of the work of the Association. It is its duty to see that every important American law, such as conscription laws, revenue regulations, land laws, corporation laws and others which are issued from time to time and which have direct bearing upon the Japanese residents in America, is properly translated or explained so as to prevent violation thereof.

It is its duty also to advise and facilitate the harmonious settlement of all legal cases arising between the American authorities or citizens and Japanese.

The Campaign of Education.—The uplift of Japanese residents in America has received our unfailing attention and emphasis from the very beginning of the Association. At first this movement took the form of what we termed social education and economic development. The purpose of this work is to impart to our fellow-countrymen elementary facts of American life, to teach them that assimilation is the first step for their success, and to convince them that by contributing to the national interests of America they can attain their own development. Among the more important activities of this nature are the following: Women's meetings, whose chief purpose is to call attention of the Japanese women in America to their social position and the education of their children; publication of pamphlets with particular reference to birth and care of babies; anti-gambling campaigns; and lectures on general social betterment. In order to facilitate and to better accomplish such important work we have published, from time to time, Japanese translations of such useful books as "Camp Sanitation" and "Mother's Guide." For such purposes the Association expended over two thousand dollars during the last year.

Americanization Projects.—Among the work of the campaign of education, Americanization projects receive special attention. This phase of our work received a new impetus in 1918 when the American Government launched a vigorous Americanization Campaign. We joined the movement immediately and made it the foundation of our projects. We co-operated with the Japanese Associations of Los Angeles, Portland and Seattle, and assumed the responsibility of directing the campaign in the Coast States, Nevada, Utah and Colorado.

Our Americanization movement has been virtually the same as the program of the American Government. However, the following two points may be stated on which we placed special emphasis: first, to encourage the learning of the English language and to furnish the necessary and suitable equipment for this particular work; second, to impart the knowledge of American life to the Japanese people so that they may easily understand Americanism to the fullest extent of the meaning of that term. This Association especially employed a man educated in America to canvass our territory for this work. It was his sole function to organize, in conjunction with the local affiliated Associations, work for the campaign.

As to the first point, namely, to encourage the learning of the English language, we made special efforts to facilitate this difficult

work by employing every means at our command. We encouraged its study among the old settlers and helped to organize classes for women and children and to secure proper teachers for them. We call special attention to the resolution which was adopted in February, 1918. In order to educate the children and young men and women coming from Japan in the English language and to lead them to American ideals, the parents were asked to pledge to send them to public schools not later than one year after their arrival in this country. This work was carefully supervised by the local affiliated Associations. If they are of the school age, the attendance at the public schools was made compulsory through the same supervision. We have also helped them in selecting the textbooks so that they can learn the language properly, and, at the same time, become familiar with America. With regard to the other phase of the campaign, the work chiefly consists of popular lectures and distribution of pamphlets and circulars. The lectures were given in various localities of the states already mentioned where a large number of Japanese reside, and many men and women of prominence who are familiar with America took part most enthusiastically. These addresses were for the purpose of familiarizing the local Japanese with America, and varied topics were discussed covering American history and civics, economics, industry, religion, education, social life, home life and good house-keeping, health, hygiene and the like. A free distribution of pamphlets and circulars on similar subjects was also effective particularly at the places where lectures could not have been held. In accomplishing this work, we have asked the Japanese schools, churches, Y. M. C. A., Y. W. C. A., clubs and other organizations, newspapers and magazines to co-operate with us in the campaign, and they have eagerly responded to make it a success. For this work alone, this Association and that of Southern California appropriated approximately five thousand dollars.

Statistical and Research Work.—The Association carries on statistical work of investigation on varied subjects, particularly with reference to the population and industrial activities of the Japanese residing within our jurisdiction, and publishes the result of such investigations in order to present to the Americans the actual facts for a fair and impartial judgment of the Japanese question. For this very purpose the Association published last January a booklet entitled, "Statistics Relative to Japanese Immigration and Japanese in California." The Association annually appropriates fifteen hundred dollars for this work and one of the secretaries devotes his exclusive attention to the subject.

American Relations Works.—Ever since America's entrance into the War, the Association, on behalf of the Japanese residents within its jurisdiction, had been actively engaged directly or indirectly in the campaign for Liberty Bonds, the American Red Cross Society, and War Savings Stamps, and for raising funds for other organizations for social welfare work among the enlisted men. But with the return of peace, the Association is directing its energy toward promoting mutual understanding and friendship between America and Japan and their peoples. For example, the Association is aiming at the achievement of

social betterment among the Japanese residents following the customs and manners of the people of this country. The campaign against the practice of "picture marriage" is another illustration of this work.

Works Relative to the Local Affiliated Associations.—One of the important functions of the Association, executed in conjunction with the local affiliated Associations, is the issuance of certificates. Whenever a resident Japanese desires to apply to the Japanese Government for a passport for a member of his family (his parent, wife or minor) to come to this country, he is required to obtain visé about his character and occupation from the Consulate-General of Japan in San Francisco. Such visé is issued only after a careful inquiry into the applicant's character, property, business conditions, and also his personal conduct since his landing in America, so as to avoid violation of the Gentleman's Agreement. This Association, through the unfailing co-operation of the local affiliated Associations, assumes full responsibility in investigating the applicant's character, property, business conditions, and personal conduct together with his annual income and expenditure and in furnishing a certificate thereof.

CHAPTER II

THE JAPANESE POPULATION IN CALIFORNIA

One of the pivotal points of the Japanese problem in California is the subject of the Japanese population. Mr. V. S. McClatchy, publisher of the Sacramento *Bee,* stated at the Hearing of the Congressional Committee on Immigration and Naturalization held at Washington, D. C., on September 25, 1919, that the Japanese population in California is over 100,000. (Report of Committee on Immigration and Naturalization. Percentage Plan for Restricting Immigration, 66th Cong. 1st. Sess. pp. 257, 278.) Senator J. D. Phelan claimed the same number at the San Francisco Hearing of the same Committee on July 12, 1920. The State Board of Control in its report, "California and the Orientals," issued in June, 1919, sought to determine the Japanese population by basing the calculation on the Japanese population given in the Federal Census of 1910, viz., 41,356. The Board added to this number "immigrants" and "births," and subtracted from it "emigrants" and "deaths," thus arriving at a total of 87,279. The tabulation of the numbers by the Board is as follows:

JAPANESE POPULATION OF CALIFORNIA DECEMBER 31, 1919.

1.	Population April 15, 1910	41,356	
2.	Immigrants admitted to California April 15, 1910, to December 31, 1919	32,196	
3.	Immigration from Hawaii July 1, 1910, to June 30, 1919	506	
4.	Registered births April 15, 1910, to December 31, 1919	27,828	
5.	Emigrants departed April 15, 1910, to December 31, 1919		7,110
6.	Reported deaths April 15, 1910, to December 31, 1919		7,497
	Totals	101,886	14,607
	Balance		87,279

That such calculation is misleading as to the exact number of the Japanese population in California may be seen by the discrepancies in dealing with the numbers of "immigration" and "emigration" which are found in the above table. Figures issued by the Commissioner General of Immigration bring out the following facts:

Comparative Tables Showing the Increase of the Japanese Population in the United States (Including Hawaii) According to "Immigration" and "Emigration," and the Total Number Admitted and Departed.

1.	Total "immigration" April 1, 1910 to December 31, 1919	80,186
	Total "emigration" April 1, 1910, to December 31, 1919	14,548
	Increase by excess of "immigration" over "emigration"	65,638
2.	Total Japanese admitted April 1, 1910, to December 31, 1919	116,627
	Total departed April 1, 1910, to December 31, 1919	90,342
	Increase by excess admittances	26,285

The words "immigration" and "emigration" are used in a technical sense, the first referring only to laborers, former residents, parents, wives or children of United States residents of the laborer class, while the second includes all those mentioned above and also non-laborers, such as officials, travelers, business men and students.

The above tables are from Dr. Sidney Gulick's article, "Japanese in California," published in The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, January, 1920, p. 61.

Dr. Gulick has commented upon these figures by saying that when "we deal only with 'immigrants' and 'emigrants' we conclude that the Japanese in America (including Hawaii) have increased by 65,638, whereas, if we deal with all admitted and all departed, we find that the actual increase is only 26,285. The former method, which is the one used by the California State Board of Control, would require us to assume that 39,353 Japanese are still in the country who have in fact departed.

"Instead of the population of the rest of the states having diminished by 10,873 as the Board infers, the Japanese population in those states has increased by 14,408 if we deal only with the misleading figures of 'immigration' and 'emigration.' *The Annual Reports of the Commissioner General of Immigration do not permit us to estimate accurately the Japanese population in each state.*"

According to the figures obtained by the Japanese Association of America, October 1, 1920, through its affiliated Associations in the State, the total was 71,033. The increase over the Census figures of 1910 is, therefore, 29,677 or 71.75 per cent.

The Director of the Census of 1920, on November 15, 1920, issued a preliminary statement of the Japanese population in California. According to his report the population of California is 3,426,861 of which 70,196 are Japanese. The Japanese population of the State constituted 2 per cent of the total population in 1920, while it was 1.7 per cent in 1910. The increase in the Japanese population since 1910 was at a lower rate than for the preceding decade, the increase from 1910 to 1920 being 28,840 or 69.7 per cent, as compared with 31,205 or 307.4 per cent from 1900 to 1910.

The Japanese population by sex in 1920 was male 44,364, female 25,832. The percentage of sex in 1920 was male 63.2 per cent, female 38.8 per cent, while that for 1910 was male 84.9 per cent, female 15.1 per cent.

As to the Japanese population outside of California, the 1920 Census gives 17,114 for Washington and 4022 for Oregon. Our estimate for the total of the United States exclusive of Hawaii, is approximately 120,000 of which about one hundred thousand Japanese are found on the Pacific Coast.

In these studies of various figures it is fair to assume that the increase in the Japanese population in California is not necessarily alarming. In the first place, the population of California has increased during the past ten years from 2,377,549 to 3,426,861. This is an increase of 45.8 per cent, which is entirely normal. But when we analyze the Japanese population in 1910, we find that it was in an abnormal condition. At that time, men above the full age of manhood

constituted the majority of the Japanese population, while women and children numbered but a very small portion of it. Thus, there were 43,933 men and only 6,362 women, while children numbered 4,685. (The Japanese-American Year Book for 1911.) Since then, up to 1919, approximately 13,000 women and 25,000 children have been added and only today the Japanese population is barely approaching its normal condition. In other words, the principal cause of the increase in the Japanese population during the last ten years lies in the natural and normal increase in the number of women and children.

The Acting Secretary of State of the United States, Hon. William Phillips, affirmed this very position when he said: "A striking feature of the sex distribution of Japanese immigrants under the operation of the Agreement is to be noted. Prior to the Agreement Japanese immigration was largely a movement of males, 85.7 per cent of the number admitted being of that sex, but during the eleven years since the Agreement only 41.5 per cent of those admitted were males." (California and the Oriental, p. 143.) Practically all wives and children of Japanese residents here who can be sent for have already been sent for and very few of them remain in Japan to come in the future. Naturally there will be no other possible candidates to be called to America, under the strict observance of the Gentlemen's Agreement, which excludes all laborers. Thus as soon as a normal condition of the Japanese population is reached the ratio between Japanese population and white population will change in favor of the latter.

CHAPTER III

BIRTH RATE OF THE JAPANESE IN CALIFORNIA

The high birth rate among the Japanese in California has been used by the anti-Japanese agitators as one of their strongest arguments. Mr. V. S. McClatchy, for example, has been constantly stating that, if the present rate of increase is continued, there will be over one million Japanese in California within half a century and the white population will be entirely outnumbered in the near future.

Following, for example, is the statement made by Mr. V. S. McClatchy before the House Committee on Immigration at Sacramento on July 13, 1920: "At the present rate of increase the Japanese population in the United States, which now is approximately 150,000 will have jumped to 2,000,000 in forty years; 10,000,000 in eighty years, and 100,000,000 in one hundred and forty years."

Senator Phelan stated a similarly exaggerated situation before the same committee at San Francisco on July 12, 1920. He said: "There are fully 100,000 Japanese in California, and if they increase at the present ratio the Japanese population will exceed the white population within the next ninety years."

Why these exaggerated numbers, as for example, 100,000 Japanese in California, when there are only about 87,000? And why all these speculations? The population of the United States has been doubling every twenty-five years, and if we can borrow the logic of Mr. McClatchy in the foregoing calculation, we have the following:

1920	105,000,000	2000	840,000,000
1950	210,000,000	2050	3,360,000,000

No Scientific Ground Yet Made for Comparison.—According to the Report of the State Board of Control, the birth rate among the Japanese in California is 46.44 and that among the whites is 16.59 per thousand population, respectively. But what are the grounds for this comparison? We are not certain that these figures and such comparisons are scientific and reliable. No one, so far as we know, has yet made any scientific study and no one has yet given us accurate statistics showing elementary facts such as sex distributions, marital conditions, age-group and age composition, etc., of the Japanese population. Yet without these facts we can not very well make a comparative study of the birth rate between any two races. Thus the result of the above misrepresentation has been seen in a series of shifting assertions even by the leaders of the anti-Japanese agitators. During his testimony before the House Committee September 25, 1919, Mr. McClatchy stated that the Japanese birth rate is "Five times as great as that of the whites," but at Sacramento on July 13, 1920, he stated that the ratio is 3 to 1 instead, while Senator Phelan at the San Francisco hearing on July 12, 1920, stated that the Japanese birth rate is four times as great as that of the whites. Why all these disagreements and shiftings?

Just Comparison of Birth Rate.—Such comparison should be made on an equal basis. The birth rate among the Japanese immigrants, thus, for the sake of justice, should be compared with that among the other immigrant races or that among the whites with similar income groups, intellectual status, age-groups, and social environment. It is an utter injustice to compare the Japanese birth rate with that of the old white population whose make-up is entirely different and whose birth rate is necessarily low. The report of the State Board of Control even disclaims its own comparison by the following statement which has direct bearing upon this point:

"If it were possible to select, for more accurate comparison, those married white women who were of a social, economic, and intellectual status similar to that of the Japanese, the disparity in BIRTH RATE WOULD UNDOUBTEDLY BE LESS MARKED."

Birth Rate of Immigrant Group.—But let it be granted, for the sake of expediency, that the Japanese birth rate in the past has been unusually high. Yet the subject has never received any rational explanation. In the first place, we must bear in mind the truth scientifically established that the birth rate is always high among all foreign immigrants during their first generation. Thus the birth rate among the Italians and Poles is quite as high, if not higher, than among the Japanese immigrants. In this connection a similar opinion appearing in one of the dailies may be quoted. Mr. Isaac Siegel of New York, a member of the House Committee on Immigration and Naturalization, said: "Among foreign immigrants the birth rate is generally very high during the first generation." Congressman Wm. N. Vail also made a similar statement. One of the reasons for this condition is, in my opinion, the fact that a majority of the immigrants come from families which are comparatively large, while those coming from small families of one or two children are very rare. Consequently, the immigrants constituting the first generation are biologically prolific and their birth rate must necessarily be high.

In the following generations, however, it will, they having adopted the new conditions, fall back gradually until the normal birth rate of the old immigrants is virtually reached. Again, of the immigrant women who come here, only strong and healthy ones are admitted, and it is an indisputable fact that there is an intimate relation between physical condition and birth rate. Because these factors hold true with the Japanese immigrants in California, their birth rate should naturally be high during their first generation.

Comparative Increase in the Number of Women.—In the second place, it is even more necessary to note the comparative increase in the number of young women or wives in direct connection with the alleged high birth rate.

In 1910 there were scattered all over California 6,362 Japanese women, mostly not very young. This number jumped to 15,211 toward the close of 1919, according to the investigations which were carried on by the Japanese Association of America and the Central Japanese Association of Southern California. In other words, the increase of

Japanese women in California during the last nine years was approximately 10,000. The majority of these women, furthermore, are young wives whose ages range from twenty to twenty-five. Mark the number and the most prolific age-groups. A comparatively high birth rate under these circumstances is more than natural. Add to this the influence of the new environment, social, economic and physical, and we have the most favorable factors for high birth rate. The fallacy of such ridiculous statements as that the Japanese women "give birth once a year, or nearly once a year" is made clear by the following table:*

			Percentage of Births to the Total Births in California	
Year	*No. of Women*	*Births*	*Japanese*	*Whites*
1910	6,362	719	2.24	96.13
....	.....	....	...	....
1915	10,000	3,342	6.95	91.26
1916	11,500	3,721	7.35	91.38
1917	13,500	4,108	7.87	90.59
1918	14,500	4,218	7.54	91.17
1919	15,211	4,378	7.82	90.86

*For 1915-1918, inclusive, the figures are an estimate. Figures for 1919 are also liable for correction. Other figures were compiled from the Reports of the California State Board of Health.

Moreover, the high birth rate can not be established as a racial trait of the Japanese. It is probably due to their limited social and economic condition and less advanced intellectual status, a necessary condition among the first generation of immigrant laborers in a strange land. The uncultured always suffer from high birth rate, which is always accompanied by a high death rate. But as they advance in culture their fecundity declines. This is an established fact. The birth rate among the "old" immigrant races is fast falling. As the Japanese emerge from their present status, as they are doing wonderfully well, their birth rate will surely fall.

Generalization Based on Specific Cases.—It can be plainly seen from the foregoing particular conditions that to judge future increase from the past birth rate is neither just nor logical. Particularly true is this when alarmists try to prove exceptional cases, as typical, by means of figures obtained from some particular locality where Japanese happen to be more numerous and more prolific than elsewhere, from economic or other specific causes. It must be noted in this connection that because the local Japanese Associations assist parents in the registration of children, often born in other counties or distant places where no Association exists, these births are often included in the city population, consequently an apparently abnormal birth rate among the Japanese may be seen.

As a matter of fact the birth rate among the Japanese in California, when scientifically analyzed, is not at all alarming. This conviction is further strengthened when we note that the number of women of childbearing age is decreasing with the years, and new arrivals, through the prohibition of "picture marriages," are practically excluded today. Thus it is not too much to say that, in the near future, when the Japan-

ese population reaches its normality, there will be a great decrease in the comparative birth rate. That this is not a mere assumption is shown by the vital statistics given by the California State Board of Health in its Monthly Bulletin for April, 1920. The percentages of white births to the total births in January, 1919, was 89.2 and January, 1920, was 89.4, which is an increase of .2 per cent. Similar percentages of the Japanese births are 9.5 and 9.3, respectively, which is a decrease of .2 per cent (p. 321).

Moreover, a high birth rate is not in itself a crime nor a condemnable thing. On the other hand, it is a valuable asset for a nation and the question should be how to assimilate and Americanize the growing offspring, how to better the social conditions so as to make assimilation and Americanization possible. In other words, the question of high birth rate should be approached as a social problem and its over-emphasis as an immigration question should be avoided.

CHAPTER IV

STANDARD OF WAGES AND WORKING HOURS

Wages.—That the Japanese are content to work for low wages is not true altogether. Even Senator James D. Phelan states that the Japanese are not willing to work for low wages and therefore they are dangerous. The point at issue is not to be argued and I shall refer to the following table to indicate the general tendency among the Japanese laborers, particularly in comparison with white laborers.

Average Monthly Wages Paid by Japanese Employers in Twenty-Two Counties of Northern California During Year of 1919. (Tabulated by Japanese Association of America from employers' reports, consisting of 958 agricultural and 715 commercial reports.)

	Commercial		Agricultural			
	Japanese	White	Japanese		White	
County—	Without Board		Board	Without	Board	Without
Alameda	$ 99.00	$100.00	$ 95.00	$120.00	$100.00	$118.50
Butte	85.00	.....	103.00	130.00	100.00	120.00
Contra Costa	85.00	100.00	103.50	128.00	112.00	121.00
Colusa	113.50	150.00	120.00	153.70	.....	187.00
Fresno	116.20	110.00	95.50	126.45	80.00	130.00
Inyo	100.00	100.00	110.00	135.00	85.00	120.00
Kings	92.35	100.00	105.00	121.70	.....	127.00
Monterey	110.00	120.00	86.25	145.83	101.70	135.00
Napa	130.00	150.00	75.00	120.00	80.00	100.00
Placer	95.00	95.00	120.00	145.00	.....	112.00
Stanislaus	90.00	125.00	130.00	161.00	125.00	155.00
San Joaquin	93.00	100.00	101.80	119.00	102.00	119.00
Solano	130.00	.....	96.10	117.80	89.50	111.60
Santa Cruz	92.50	.....	82.50	135.00	.....	105.00
San Francisco	92.00	96.00	120.00	140.00	95.00	145.00
Santa Clara	105.00	83.00	100.00	123.00	90.00	123.00
San Mateo	114.00	85.00	75.00	100.00	75.00	111.60
San Benito	.....	.....	105.00	120.00	120.00	150.00
Sacramento	95.00	87.05	110.80	134.08	87.00	133.04
Tulare	101.60	100.00	114.00	140.85	122.05	131.00
Yuba	90.00	100.00	82.40	.....	82.40	.....
Yolo	85.00	.....	101.20	127.00	103.30	135.00
Average	$100.67	$106.00	$101.91	$130.66	$ 97.22	$128.32

A few notes by way of explanation may help to clear the situation. A majority of whites employed by the Japanese farmers are skilled laborers. Consequently, the average wages of the Japanese farm hands of whom a majority are unskilled laborers are lower in a few cases in comparison with those of the whites. The table shows, however, that the Japanese laborers in agricultural occupations are receiving higher wages than the white laborers on an average. In commercial occupations, the white employees are of better quality and the number is less than one-tenth of the Japanese employees.

Working Hours.—A most common charge made against Japanese farmers is that their working hours are long and the American farmers can not compete with them. If such contention exists in the public

mind, it must be carefully analyzed and explained, which the anti-Japanese agitators have never tried to do.

The Japanese nation is characterized by industry and perseverance. Naturally the Japanese here possess endurance and industry. It appears rather strange, thus, that the Americans should complain of these traits, for they themselves take pride in these very characteristics. Those Japanese who are even slightly acquainted with American history can not but be impressed by the degree of these qualities with which Americans have converted the Wild West into a fertile Paradise. The Japanese, confronted with numerous handicaps and shortcomings upon their arrival here, found that the best asset they possessed consisted in those very characteristics which helped them to get on an independent footing. Consequently they worked hard, and, as it is charged, perhaps overworked as some of them still do. But why condemn these very qualities which lie deep at the foundation of the Golden West?

Contrary to the allegation often made, the standard of working hours among the Japanese is the same as that of the Americans in general. This point is obvious from the very fact that the Japanese farming camps all over the State have standard working hours similar to that of the American farmers and all Japanese laborers decline to work beyond those hours. The laborers have an instinctive tendency to work as short hours as possible, and a sincere investigation of the facts will show that Japanese laborers are no exception to this rule. If there ever exists a standard of longer working hours it is only in specific industries or in the rush of harvesting perishable food products. Casual observers often fail to distinguish the Japanese farm hand who maintains the standard working hours and those farmers who manage their own enterprises. For many Japanese farmers are pioneers who farm their own land and who conduct their own enterprises. Because of their inherited characteristics of industry and perseverance, they find enjoyment in work. This is one of the causes of their success in California. Furthermore, the lack of farm hands, which is working havoc in the agricultural sections throughout the country today, compels one to utilize every possible opportunity.

Japanese Faithful in Observing Sundays.—In this connection, it is particularly important to note a misunderstood phase of the question, namely, Sunday work among the Japanese farmers. In general, it may be stated that the Japanese do not work on Sundays. In this respect they are quite law-abiding. An exception to this statement must be made in such industries as truck gardening, particularly berries and vegetables. The truck farmers have to supply the city consumers and consequently they are compelled to work on Sundays to keep the market supplied on Mondays; but this does not mean that they go without a rest day in a week, for they rest on Saturdays. Moreover, this is not only true among the Japanese alone. It holds true among all races who are engaged in similar industries. The fact is that these industries, on account of their direct connection with city life, have grown up near the cities and naturally are more noticeable to Sunday tourists. However, if those tourist observers are reasonable enough to stop to inquire into the situation, particularly the fact that

they are living on Mondays on the Sunday labors of such farmers, perhaps there will be less complaint from the ranks of agitators. This, however, is not to commend these practices. Far from it. I am endeavoring merely to point out the necessary relation of these farmers to the present system of marketing. Thus a bright prospect is already being shown in Southern California. The Japanese there, in co-operation with the marketing authorities, are trying to do away with Sunday labor and the farmers are most enthusiastically supporting the movement. When such a movement receives due recognition and application the situation will clear by itself.

Our stand on the question is to advise the Japanese residents in the State to adjust themselves to the American standard, to normalize their working hours and to create some leisure for their self-development. Thus the conditions which we found several years ago are altogether different from what we find today; we are almost justified in stating that today their working hours are not too long. It is remarkable to note how the Japanese workers struggled to adjust themselves to the new conditions in the past and how they have succeeded in actually adjusting themselves to the American standard. This in itself is a most praiseworthy trait of the Japanese. Such effort and its fruit should receive due emphasis and recognition instead of complaint. Indeed, it appears rather strange that the Americans should complain of the Japanese trait of industry. If, however, the Americans insist upon the contention that the Japanese should work no more than so many hours, that can possibly be accomplished. Throw away all prejudice; raise all varieties of restrictions, and give them equal opportunities; admit them into the unions wherever it is possible and make them obey the union rules. A sympathetic attitude, not antagonistic dealings, is the only reliable key to the permanent solution of the problem.

CHAPTER V

STANDARD OF LIVING AMONG THE JAPANESE

The allegation of the by-gone days that the Japanese standard of living is decidedly low is not true today. In fact, to be satisfied with a low standard of living is not the racial characteristic of the Japanese. On the contrary, they have an instinctive tendency to enjoy life as much as possible. If the standard of living was ever low in Japan, it was due not to racial characteristics, but principally to defects in her economic system.

It is true, however, that the standard of living among Japanese immigrants in the past was low. They could then earn on the farm no more than $1.00 or $1.50 a day; even in cities the wages were not much better. With such wages they could not indulge in a very high standard of living. Naturally, with their increased earning power the standard rose rapidly until today their standard of living is not inferior—as a matter of fact, it is equal if not superior, to that which prevails among other recent immigrant races. Furthermore, in general, we found, and still find, a higher standard of living in Japanese communities where the earning power is comparatively high.

It should be noted also that as yet many Japanese residents in the State are unmarried and without homes. Thus they naturally spend a relatively small portion of their earnings on actual living. The rest is spent principally on things for display, good clothes, gold watches, diamond rings, etc. This, of course, is not a commendable habit; but it seems to be an inevitable accompaniment of their present state of life. When their mode of life becomes normalized by marriage and settlement, these things of display will be changed to things of the home

Furthermore, the shifting and unsettled nature of the Japanese population in California has an intimate relation to their standard of living. California legally prohibits the Japanese from owning or even leasing land, which results in conditions detrimental to the farming industry. Politically they are not allowed to naturalize and enjoy full citizenship. Moreover, political agitations engender a growing feeling of uneasiness among the Japanese. How can there be a comfortable and stable home life under these circumstances? Naturally, although the Japanese are gradually being assimilated and Americanized, their home life is, in some cases, still inferior to the American standard. But take these fundamental barriers away from their environment and the Japanese racial characteristics will shine forth brightly and their standard of living will assume equality with that of the Americans. Thus, in the Fresno district, where there are numerous large land-holding Japanese, the standard of living is surprisingly high and attractive, not at all inferior even in comparison with that of the Americans in the same district. In other words, the responsibility is as much on the American side as on the Japanese.

The intellectual side of Japanese life is remarkably high as shown conclusively by the existence of numerous Japanese daily newspapers and the extent of their circulation in proportion to the population. There are in California five large Japanese dailies and five large weeklies at present. The largest daily has a circulation of approximately 12,000. And besides, many Japanese prefer American dailies. Furthermore, the great number of book stores in proportion to the number of the people and the consequent large disposal of books and magazines are still more favorable indications that the Japanese do take their life seriously, even during their meager spare hours of the busy seasons. There are over twenty book stores in California which devote their business exclusively to dealing with books and magazines, both American and Japanese. The number of insurance agencies of all descriptions among the Japanese and the tremendous amount of premium will also demonstrate the obvious fallacy of the allegation that the Japanese standard of living is low. There are almost forty agents for different insurance firms exclusively for Japanese in California. Over 65 to 70 per cent of the insurable Japanese are insured today.

The standard of living again is not an absolute question but a relative one. It can only be measured relatively and not absolutely. To do justice to the question, furthermore, the comparison should be made between the recent immigrants of various races, and not between Japanese immigrants and well established Americans. When the above factors are given due consideration, the Japanese standard of living will be seen in a new light.

CHAPTER VI

JAPANESE LANGUAGE SCHOOLS

The question of Japanese language schools has been the center of anti-Japanese agitation in California. It is constantly charged that the Japanese language schools are a menace to American ideals and institutions as they retard the Americanization of Japanese immigrants and their children. The ground for this charge is that these schools are teaching, not only the Japanese language and customs, but also the Japanese religion and doctrine of state. It is, therefore, necessary to present certain fundamental facts and to explain the attitude of the Japanese toward the Japanese language school.

Origin of the Japanese Language Schools.—It is observed that the children born of Japanese immigrants in this country learn and speak English much more readily than the Japanese language. Consequently, even if they may understand their mother tongue spoken while very young, it is obviously natural that they soon acquire a sufficient knowledge of English and soon forget the mother tongue, which is the only means of communicating with their parents, since the parents' knowledge of English is usually insufficient. This results in alienating the children from their parents, and the consequence is the disorganization of the family, resulting often in the lack of parental control and the drifting of the children into the path of juvenile delinquency. Such cases have been proved by the study made among the immigrant groups in Chicago where a large number of delinquent children come from disorganized families. It is essential, therefore, that the immigrant children of the second generation should be taught the language of their parents, not only from the point of view of the parents' desire for harmonious family life, but also from the point of view of social efficiency.

This is the basic idea upon which the Japanese language schools in this country are founded and it is fundamental in understanding their functions as they exist today. To this may be added other functions which these schools are coming to perform in recent years. The one is the part they play as day nurseries for the children. In San Francisco, for example, one institution is entrusted with children as young as two or three years old. Even the children of primary grade who attend the city public schools come to the institution after the school hour and stay until supper time, thus relieving the mothers, and giving them more time for their household duties and other responsibilities. Another function is the preparatory nature of these schools in which the children under the school age, whose knowledge of English is insufficient, are given preparatory instruction to enter the primary school. For this purpose many Japanese schools employ American teachers.

Curriculum of Japanese Language Schools.—When the necessity of imparting a knowledge of the mother tongue to the children of immigrants in their second generation is admitted from the standpoint of

social efficiency and family organization, the object of these schools becomes obvious. Their fundamental object is to teach the children to speak the Japanese language properly, to read simple writings in Japanese, perhaps newspapers, and to write simple letters. Such being the case, the curriculum is divided into reading, writing, penmanship, memory exercises, dictation and singing. According to the report of the investigation carried on by our Association for the year 1917, all of the twenty-eight schools reported had reading, twenty-two had deportment, twenty-six had writing, seventeen had penmanship, twenty-one had singing, twenty-one had spelling, and twenty had play hours in their curriculums. Daily lessons of two hours thus being divided into these various lessons; the reading will not occupy more than twenty or thirty minutes. No child, therefore, who can understand and speak English is admitted unless he or she attends a public school during the regular school hours and no school maintains a grade higher than the grammar grade. Because of these very reasons, the average school hours are only one hour per day.

Japanese Language Schools and Americanization.—It has been often charged that these schools are promoting Emperor worship and teaching the fundamentals of the Japanese religion. The fallacy of the charge is more than obvious. The scope of the lessons and the length of the school hours leave no room for such instruction. On the contrary, the schools are treating the children as citizens of the United States and are teaching the mother tongue only so far as it is a necessity for family harmony and for social efficiency and economy. This is more than clear from such resolutions as the following which were passed by the Japanese Educational Association of America in 1913:

"The language schools are conducted with the fact in view that the Japanese children are Americans and are going to spend all their years here, and our whole educational system must be founded upon the spirit of the public instruction of America."

The Japanese desire that their children shall remain not only American citizens by birth, but also that, being born of Japanese parentage, they shall make a distinct contribution to American national life by retaining some of the finer qualities of their parentage. The Japanese language, furthermore, is a valuable asset to American national life, especially with reference to America's relations with the Far East.

Text Books and Reorganization of Language Schools.—For the present generation, at least, some knowledge of the Japanese language is necessary. It can best be taught in institutions such as the language schools. However, these schools are not provided with adequate text books. As soon as the Japanese faced the problem of starting such an organization, they faced the difficult problem of selecting proper text books. As far back as 1912 when the first meeting was called by the Japanese Educational Association of America in San Francisco, one of the problems discussed was the question of text books. Since none could be obtained which were already in print, other than those published in Japan, a committee on editing adequate text books was selected at the 1915 meeting. The committee prepared books from Vol. I to Vol. IV, but owing to lack of funds their publication has been delayed.

In July, 1918, the Conference of the Japanese Associations on the Pacific Coast met at Seattle and passed a resolution recommending the establishment of an educational research bureau and the publication of special text books. The Conference further resolved that the American system of compulsory education is a necessity to the American citizen; that the Japanese language be taught only after the public school hours; that in view of the importance of the question, it is the duty of the Association of the Japanese Associations on the Pacific Coast to take into serious consideration the question of the language schools; and that the present text books are inadequate and should either be revised or entirely rewritten.

A similar movement was organized in Southern California in 1915 and the following resolutions were passed in the 1918 meeting:

(a) The object of our education of Japanese children shall be to make it supplementary to American public instruction, and the curriculum shall be limited to the teaching of the Japanese language.

(b) That every child who comes to a Japanese school, and who is not attending the public school should be directed to attend the public schools.

(c) That the interpretation of anything in the adopted text books which may be contrary to the spirit of Americanism should be carefully corrected.

(d) That we should endeavor to publish proper text books which correspond to the spirit of true Americanism. This proposition shall be presented to the General Conference of the Japanese Associations of the Pacific Coast.

(e) That there shall be selected a Committee on Americanization.

During the last annual conference of the Association of Japanese Language Institutes of Northern California, held in Fresno, October, 1920, plans to reorganize the institutes were unanimously adopted. A declaration of purpose was made to the effect that the Japanese Language Institutes of Northern California shall be supplementary to the public schools of this State. In order to achieve good citizenship, the American-born children of Japanese parentage must be taught in the same system and spirit prevailing in the public schools of this land. The conference further adopted the following plans:

1. For the kindergarten, both Japanese and American teachers shall be employed in order to effectively prepare the children for entering the public schools.
2. For the children in the public schools the teaching of the Japanese language shall be from half an hour to one hour. This is to facilitate the communication of ideas between parents and children so that they may enjoy home life.
3. The Language Institutes shall provide playgrounds for the children to encourage healthy sports and avoid the dangers of bad influences from playing on the street.
4. Furthermore the conference appointed a committee to revise the text books which will adequately meet the need of the American-born children.

These facts all tend to show that there has been a ready recognition, both by Japanese teachers and Japanese Associations, of the inadequacy of the present text books and that there are several projects under way to make necessary alterations and corrections. The difficulty met by the committee was to finance the project of publication which was estimated at not less than $10,000. In the meantime, while these text books are being prepared, the teachers in many schools have revised the course of lessons to meet the needs of the pupils.

For several years the Japanese in California have been considering how the Japanese Language Institutes may be effectively conducted to

promote ideals of democracy and at the same time give the Japanese children born here some rudiments of the language which is their chief means of communicating with their parents. A practical solution for this problem has recently come from Hawaii where a similar problem has long been in serious consideration by both the Japanese and American settlers of the islands. In November, 1920, the Chamber of Commerce of Honolulu, refused to indorse a bill proposing to abolish the Japanese language schools in the islands. However, it took action indorsing the proposition submitted by Japanese residents which would give to the Department of Public Instruction the regulation of language schools, supervision of text books, certification of teachers, and the limitation of the sessions in language schools to one hour daily or six hours weekly. During the 1921 session of the California Legislature several bills were introduced relating to the so-called "foreign language school." There was a bill prohibiting the organizing, conducting, or teaching in any foreign language school. Another bill was introduced relating to the government supervision of private foreign language schools. The bill also provides for the certification of teachers who will satisfy the State authorities "that the applicant for the same is possessed of the ideals of democracy, knowledge of American history and institutions and knows how to read, write and speak the English language." This qualification is assumed to be necessary for the teachers in order that they may "direct the minds of the pupils so that they may become good and loyal American citizens." It further regulates the hours of instruction and text books used in the schools.

It is the intention and purpose of the Japanese to bring the language schools under the supervision of the State. In the first place, this will result in the best instruction being given for acquiring the language of their parents, and at the same time facilitate the process of Americanization; and in the second place it gives an opportunity to express the desire of the Japanese in California to co-operate in every way possible with the people of this State in Americanizing the children of alien parentage.

The immigrant groups usually face two alternatives in educating their children, namely, to organize some such institution as the language schools to maintain the group communication or to leave the group to disintegrate so fast that the result is socially detrimental. As it has been already noted, the Japanese have chosen the former, maintaining at the same time the spirit of Americanization and loyalty to the nation which they have adopted either by necessity or destiny, even though they are not admitted to the full privilege of her citizenship. Indeed, among the Japanese residents in this country the fundamental proposition upon which they educate their children is to bring up their children as the best American citizens who will not only participate in American life, but also contribute a distinct share to this cosmopolitan civilization. From this point of view, the existence of the Japanese language schools are justified only on the basis of social expediency and the practicability of such institutions on the basis of its totally supplementary nature, incident to the special conditions still existing among

the immigrant groups in this country. As such, the present system of Japanese language schools, long before anything was said by the Americans, has been regarded by many thoughtful Japanese purely as a temporary institution. The prevalent idea today is that these schools will become unnecessary in the third generation, if not sooner.

CHAPTER VII

RELIGION AND SOCIAL EDUCATION OF THE JAPANESE

Some Misstatements.—Senator Phelan at the San Francisco hearing of the Immigration Committee testified that "there are seventy-six Buddhist temples in California, and I am told that they are regularly attended by 'Emperor worshippers' who believe that their Emperor is the over-lord of all." Mr. V. S. McClatchy, at the Sacramento hearing of the Committee, stated that Japanese, with few exceptions, do not assimilate socially, economically, and in ideals, and do not furnish good material for American citizenship mainly for three reasons: First, because of heredity and religion; second, because of allegiance to Japan and the Mikado; and third, because of assumption of Japanese race superiority and their ultimate destiny.

The fallacy of such statements can be proved when we look into the facts of religious practices among the Japanese in this country. Senator Phelan's statement is entirely erroneous as to the number of Buddhist temples. First of all, according to the report of the headquarters of the Buddhist Churches of America, there are only twenty-five churches in Continental America, of which nineteen are in California. According to the Japanese-American Year Book of 1920 eight more non-affiliated Buddhist Churches are listed in California, making a total of twenty-seven. In the second place, Buddhist Churches are not the place for Emperor worshippers. Their doctrines and creeds are not in accord with Emperor worship. It is impossible to reconcile these two statements with the facts and practices of the Buddhist Churches and their 8,500 members. Perhaps the Senator meant to say that the Japanese were Shintoists who in some cases worship their ancestors, and naturally the Emperor whom they regard as their ancestor. As far as religious practices of the Japanese in America are concerned, no encouragement is given by any religious organization or individual. Furthermore the Senator has overlooked the fact that Christianity is rapidly winning the hearts of Japanese in this country. When these facts are taken into account his charge is found to be entirely groundless. As to the statement of Mr. McClatchy that the Japanese are unassimilable because of religious differences, the same facts are conclusive proof that there is no attitude on the part of Japanese who live here to encourage political-religious practices among their countrymen.

Christianity.—Christian work among the Japanese in California has a history of more than thirty years. In the last decade of the last century, Japanese Christians with the co-operation of American Christian leaders, recognized the importance of religious training among newcomers from the Orient. They established missions and mission stations in communities where Japanese were found in sufficient numbers. During those fifteen years the Japanese established ten missions under three denominations. The next ten years saw the expansion of missionary work among the Japanese in proportion to the increase

of immigrants. The number of churches and missions increased from ten in the previous period to over sixty with ten denominations supervising the work. In 1911, the "Den Do Dan" or Japanese Interdenominational Board of Missions was organized to meet the changing condition of the Japanese immigrants in the United States. It has rendered an efficient social service in carrying out more effective evangelistic work among the Japanese. Under the efficient leadership of Japanese and American Christians, together with the devoted work of its officers, Christian activities among the Japanese have been greatly strengthened.

Among the activities carried on by the "Den Do Dan," aside from evangelistic work, may be mentioned the following: The organization of a Y. W. C. A., promotion of Children's Welfare, initiating an anti-gambling campaign, temperance work, relief work, an educational campaign, especially in rural districts, by means of circulating libraries and the distribution of Bibles and religious books.

As the result of the work by the "Den Do Dan" and various mission boards, the following statistical data are obtained. Number of Protestant Churches on the Pacific Coast, exclusive of Canada, sixty-one; number of workers, sixty-two; membership, 3198. There are also fifty-seven Christian Sunday Schools. There are several Japanese Catholic Churches.

When Colonel G. Yamamuro, the leader of the Salvation Army in Japan, visited this country for evangelistic work, meetings were held in seventeen important cities, comprising in all forty-three gatherings attended by 14,500 of whom 842 were converted. Some traveled even several hundred miles in order to attend meetings.

The Japanese community at Livingston, California, is a typical example of Christian Japanese communities in California. There the relation of the Japanese and American residents is at its best, both co-operating for the interest of the community.

Buddhist Influence Waning.—The Buddhist Churches in this country were organized at the request of the Japanese Buddhists, whose religious beliefs had been nurtured in the old country. Struggling to maintain their spiritual life in the new social environment, they naturally turned to the old faith and organized a Church. Since the inception of the first Church in 1899 the development was gradual with the increase of the Japanese immigrants in this country. According to the figures collected by the Superintendent of Buddhist Missions of North America, Mr. K. Uchida, there are twenty-five churches (nineteen in California) of his sect in the United States, with twenty-seven priests and 8,500 members. Besides, there are eight non-affiliated churches with an approximate membership of 1,500 in California. It is a noteworthy fact, however, that these churches only function among Japanese who came from Japan, and that for the second generation of the Japanese it is quite different. Since those of the second generation are brought up in the American environment, educated in the American public schools and trained for the most part in Christian Sunday Schools, they are not at all inclined toward their traditional faith in Buddhism.

CHAPTER VIII

ASSIMILATION

The allegation that the Japanese are non-assimilable is the central argument of the anti-Japanese agitators. But they have never yet explained what they mean by assimilation, nor have they given any reason for their assertions. Mr. V. S. McClatchy, for example, testified before the Committee of Immigration and Naturalization last June saying: "Now the objections to the Japanese are that they are non-assimilable. They don't intermarry and we don't want them to intermarry. The Japanese is always a Japanese." (Hearing Report p. 253.) Not only does the witness give no reasons for this important assertion, but he mixes the question of assimilation with that of intermarriage, which is utter injustice, for assimilation can take place without intermarriage as I shall endeavor to demonstrate later. Senator James D. Phelan has resorted to the same method of attack. He said during the same hearing: "If there is any way of putting them on an equality in all respects, we would do it. It is an economic proposition because the races are non-assimilable, and we can never have that equality." Further on he said: "It is our duty to exclude the Japanese for economic reasons. Their competition is deadly and their non-assimilability established. Heretofore the Japanese have objected to discrimination, but God made them so and it is the nature of things. If we were to swallow them and could assimilate them as an American community, it would be well and good, but we can not do it. They, therefore, should not complain except against the decree of nature." (Hearing Report, p. 204.)

I should like to note in the first place that Senator Phelan has not given any fact or reason for his assertions, and has not scientifically proved his case.

Assimilation an Adjustment to New Conditions.—Assimilation may be defined, for practical purposes, as an art or process by which one is brought into a resemblance, harmony, conformity, or identity with regard to others. More specifically, the Japanese may be brought to such conditions with regard to Americans to the fullest extent of the meaning of the term. It means their adjustment to the new conditions and adaptation to social, political, industrial and cultural institutions of America. If this is true and if this is what assimilation implies, then the whole question of assimilation boils down to *how far and to what degree* the Japanese have been, and can be, assimilated. Nothing absolute can be said on the question, as for example, that the Japanese are non-assimilable. Indeed, assimilation is a relative matter, not an absolute one.

Physical Assimilation.—There are two phases to the question of assimilation thus defined, namely, physical and cultural. The physical assimilation of any race is difficult to measure and has not yet been

scientifically proved. But the fallacy of such an assertion as "the Creator made the two races different and different they will remain" has been convincingly demonstrated even by the Immigration Commission. It has generally been thought that, under the educational, social, and political conditions now existing in America, European immigrants gradually change their habits of living and their ways of thinking, and thus become Americans. Even changes in bodily form, such as height and weight, the cephalic index, color of the hair, etc., have been admitted as summarized by Franz Boas of Columbia University. (The Report of the Immigration Commission, Vol. 39.) These changes are by no means foreign to Japanese immigrants. We have observed similar changes also among the descendants of Japanese in America. Their hair is becoming lighter and even brownish-black. The yellow or tan appearance of their skin is losing its darker pigment; while their stature is gaining in height and their weight is increasing in proportion. While there has not been a sufficiently careful study made so far to determine the exact extent of these remarkable changes, such a tendency is undeniably shown by actual cases and facts. The racial difference, though it tends to discourage rapid amalgamation, by no means prevents even physical assimilation, and the Japanese immigrants are in an exactly similar position to the American people as any European immigrant race, in the possibility of their physical assimilation.

The following two charts on the weights and heights of Japanese children in Japan and America as compared with those of American children have been drawn under the following authorities:

1. The American children. The figures have been based upon the Weighing and Measuring Test of the Children's Bureau of the Department of Labor.

2. The American-born Japanese children. The figures have been based upon the result of the investigation of the Japanese Educational Association of America.

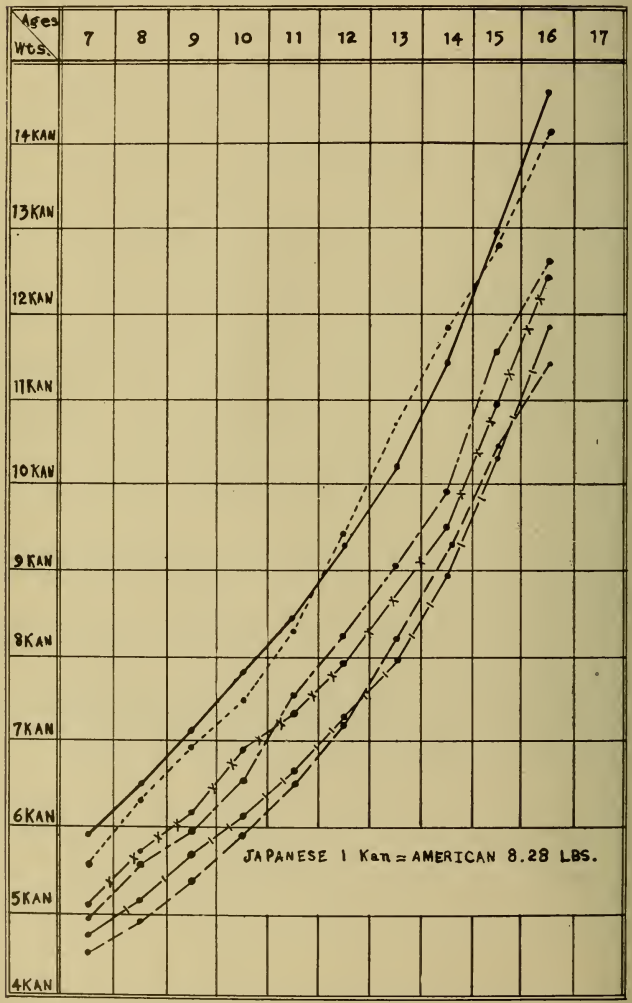
3. The Japanese children in Japan. The figures have been based upon the result of investigations of the Education Department of the City of Tokyo, Japan.

The figures are subject to slight correction, but in general are reliable and bring out the comparative weights and heights of the Japanese children born and raised in America and Japan respectively.

CHART I.

JAPANESE CHILDREN IN JAPAN AND AMERICA.

Comparative study of weights between the American-born Japanese children and Japanese children in Japan.

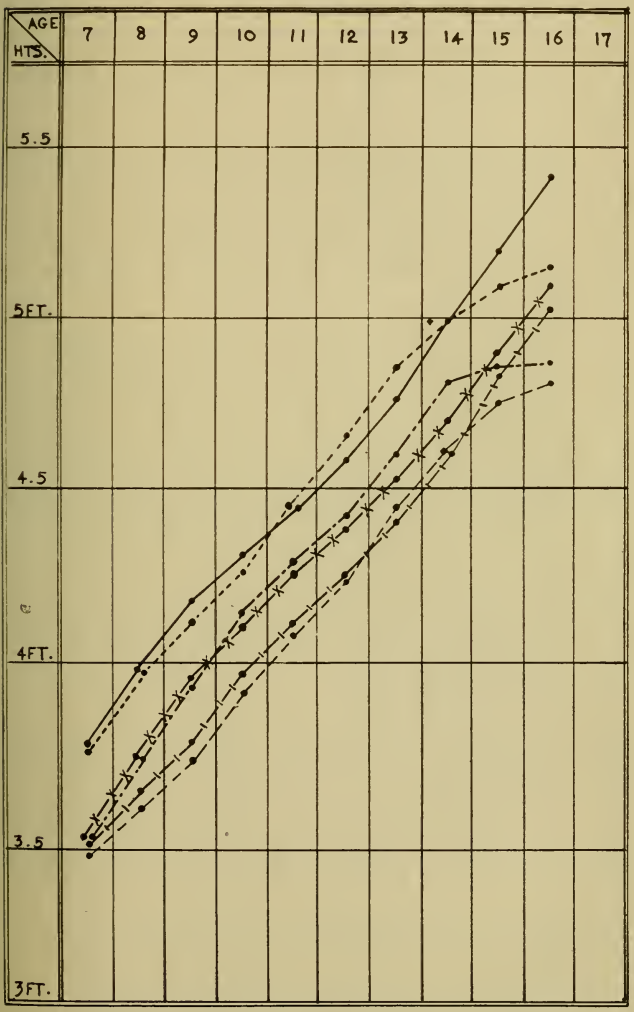


Japanese children in America: —x—boys; —·—girls.
Japanese children in Japan: |—|—boys; — —girls.
American children: ——boys; - - - - girls.

CHART II.

JAPANESE CHILDREN IN JAPAN AND AMERICA.

Comparative study of heights between the American-born Japanese children and Japanese children in Japan.



Japanese children in America: —x—boys; —·—girls.
Japanese children in Japan: |—|—boys; — —girls.
American children: ——boys; - - - - girls.

Cultural Assimilation.—The cultural assimilation of the Japanese in America is more illuminating and suggestive. First, take American-born Japanese children and young people, even, who are alleged to be non-assimilable. They are more American than Japanese in their ideas and ideals, their language and manners, their mode of thinking and attitude toward life in general. They speak almost entirely in English in daily conversation. Often the mothers find it difficult to communicate with them, unless they, too, have ample command of English.

When these native sons and daughters are taken back to Japan they never desire to remain there, not even for a short while, and insist upon returning to their "home" in America. Having thus adopted American ideas and ideals, they embrace to the fullest extent Americanism. That this is true is proved, for example, by the eagerness with which they have joined, and are joining, wherever there is an opportunity, the Boy Scouts of America, and the remarkable record which they have made.

During the last Great War our American-born Japanese were eager to serve under the Stars and Stripes and have admirably demonstrated their patriotism and loyalty to America. I was an eye-witness at one of the memorable scenes of departure of one of the native sons enlisted. Several of his friends urged him to stand courageously on the battlefield and to fight valiantly for America. In response, the young soldier, with a smile of American optimism, said: "It is a high honor for me that I can go as the first American-born Japanese to fight for those lofty ideals of which the Stars and Stripes are the symbol. I will do my very best and when duty calls me I will sacrifice my life for the cause of humanity and democracy. I pledge that I will bring no dishonor either to the land of my birth or to the country of my forefathers."

Soon after, another soldier came to bid me farewell and with a cheerful countenance said: "I am exceedingly glad that I am going. Like my friend already gone, I will pledge myself, soul and body, to fight for America's cause. I will do my duty even sacrificing my life under the Stars and Stripes."

Cultural Assimilation.—These encouraging results are also true among the adult Japanese residents in California. It is appealing to note that their ideals, both social and economic, political and cultural, have been greatly changed, even to the point of "conversion." A sense of brotherhood and social equality and a rising spirit of democracy and internationalism are fast winning the hearts of our fellow countrymen in this State. Thus, contrary to the assertion often made, there is an undeniable tendency to make America their permanent home.

This tendency is gaining ground so firmly that even those who return to the mother country with a determination to remain, are usually found coming back, fully decided to make America their permanent home. It is no exaggeration to state that over eighty per cent of the Japanese here today will find their graves in the land of their adoption. Another bright prospect is further evidenced by the surprisingly high aspiration

and firm determination on the part of Japanese parents to educate their children in America, as Americans, useful for America's future.

Again, their mode of living, their attitude of thinking, and their philosophy of life are being Americanized so profoundly that today they find no difficulty in performing their new civic duties and in conforming to American laws. Except in rare cases, the observance of Sunday has become a part of their lives, while the spirit of true American home life is becoming more and more understood and appreciated. That the Japanese will sacrifice themselves for American ideals has been conclusively shown by their attitude during the last Great War. We look back, indeed, with a pardonable pride, upon those memorable days when the Japanese in this country stood up in concert with America's hymn of Democracy and contributed handsome sums for war bonds, the Red Cross, and War Savings Stamps.

The following is the approximate estimate of the amounts contributed to the United States War Loans by the Japanese in California:

First Loan	$ 250,000.00
Second Loan	280,000.00
Third Loan	838,000.00
Fourth Loan	750,000.00
Fifth Loan	650,000.00
	$2,768,800.00

The figures fluctuated much among the Japanese in the other parts of the United States: For example, the Japanese in New York City contributed $1,589,550 for the Fifth Loan. The total amount may not be large, but contribution per capita is large.

A very large percentage of Japanese in California have joined the American Red Cross, although exact figures are not obtainable. The secretaries of local affiliated Japanese Associations devoted their exclusive services for the drive during the Red Cross Membership Campaign. In Contra Costa County, almost all Japanese families have become members of the Red Cross. Many of them are life members.

For the actual military service over-seas, the Japanese, despite the fact that they are not allowed to become citizens of the United States, volunteered in large numbers under the American colors. A Japanese graduate of the University of Southern California considered it his duty to fight for the country which gave him shelter and education from boyhood. He volunteered, though he had no citizenship rights. To his great disappointment, however, his application was turned down.

Assimilability a Characteristic of the Japanese.—That assimilability is one of Japanese racial characteristics can be proven by the history of the rapid growth of Modern Japan. Upon what else, if assimilability is denied, can we base our explanation of that remarkable growth and complete change, almost revolutionary, which took place within the last fifty years in Japan? The Japanese, indeed, have always shown that they can and are willing to assimilate. Their high respect for Western civilization and their sincere desire to adopt it have been amply demonstrated by the fruits which they are reaping today.

The Japanese are assimilable. They have proven that they are assimilable, yet it must be admitted that this process of assimilation among the Japanese in America has been very slow. Who is to blame for this? Even if we admit that there are certain faults on our part, nevertheless, we are tempted to quote Mr. Gregory Mason from *The Outlook* of June 16, 1920, who answered the question in the following convincing language:

"In my opinion, the Americans are mainly to blame for the fact that the Japanese element which comes to this country remains an unkneaded lump in the national dough."

Here I would like to call most impartial attention of thinking Americans to an almost neglected phase of the question of assimilation, namely, the barriers of all sorts in the way of Japanese assimilation.

Besides racial prejudice against them, the Japanese are not allowed the privilege of becoming full citizens of the United States, thus being prevented from developing along many lines. Among these, the most noteworthy is the California Alien Land Law and the consequent laws which prohibit Japanese from possessing land unless they are citizens. Under these circumstances, can it justly and fairly be claimed that the Japanese are non-assimilable?

In conclusion it is well to ask the question, Are the Japanese really undesirable people? Do they possess no characteristics worthy of positive effort at assimilation in this country, especially when they have proved that they are assimilable? In spite of the series of alarming allegations made against the Japanese in California, particularly in connection with the charge of undesirability, it is an encouraging fact to find that even the leaders of the anti-Japanese agitators admit that the Japanese possess numerous worthy qualities.

Mr. V. S. McClatchy, for example, testified before the House Committee on Immigration and Naturalization, December, 1919, describing this point as follows: "The Japanese is sober and industrious, and I don't entirely agree with my friend Mr. Freeman. He is generally law abiding. He has respect for his superiors and parents, and so far as police records go the cities don't have trouble with Japanese. They are very industrious. They work long hours for little pay when necessary, and they have absolute co-operation. Now the objections are that they don't assimilate——" But, having such good and worthy qualities and having above all demonstrated that they are assimilable, what other qualities are lacking to make good American citizens?

Senator James D. Phelan stated a similar absurdity in the following language: "We admire their (Japanese) industry and cleverness, but for that very reason, *being a masterful people*, they are more dangerous." And because "the Chinese are not a masterful race and are far more tractable and are quite willing to work for wages," Senator Phelan prefers a subservient slavish race to a free and independent race!

The editor of a powerful daily on the Pacific Coast, the San Francisco *Chronicle*, recently gathered courage enough to state the same thing from another angle: "The objection to Japanese immigration is not from any unfriendly feeling or any assumption of superiority. The fact seems to be *that the Japanese adhere to an ability and willingness*

to do hard work which the American race has lost, so they are too dangerous to be admitted." What a paradox! It is not necessary to add any further word as to the good qualities of Japanese immigrants, even if there are numerous other yet more plausible points. In the face of all these very statements made by the anti-Japanese agitators, the charge of undesirability of Japanese immigrants crumbles, for the Japanese possess good qualities which even "the American race has lost" and they have shown that they are assimilable. Why not make them worthy members of the United States and transform them into a valuable asset instead of mistreating and persecuting them?

CHAPTER IX

AMERICANIZATION OF THE JAPANESE

The opinion advanced by anti-Japanese agitators during the investigation of the Congressional Committee on Immigration and Naturalization was that the Japanese in America can not be naturalized and Americanized. On this ground, unfortunately, the Japanese who have been admitted here legally have not been permitted, though well qualified in every respect, to be admitted to full membership in the American community. Often they have pursued their life work in this country and even contributed their share to the building up of this commonwealth. Nevertheless the Japanese in this country have attempted to carry out the work of Americanization of their own people by establishing various agencies such as schools, religious organizations, and social institutions, often co-operating with the kindred American organizations. Thus, when we examine the facts now obtainable in regard to the work of Americanization among the Japanese in this country, the assertion of the agitators that the Japanese here always remain Japanese is shown to be entirely erroneous.

Christian Missions as Centers of Americanization.—In the early days, the Christian missions were the only centers of Japanese community. At that time most of the incoming young men went to the missions in order to learn English and to find work, while the Christian workers served such young men as interpreters in their transactions with the Americans. Since these missions were established by American churches, and American Christians naturally came in contact with the Japanese who flocked to these organizations, the process of Americanization began in Christian communities.

With this historical background, the missions are still contributing their part in Americanization in the form of mission schools. These schools devote themselves to teaching English and subjects relating to American life, in order to qualify the Japanese students to enter college, high schools, or grammar schools. This scheme has proved to be very helpful, especially to the newcomers, and has contributed a distinct and splendid part in Americanization.

A typical illustration of these mission schools is the Anglo-Japanese School established and conducted by the Japanese Methodist Episcopal Church of San Francisco. For the last two decades and over, this institution made the best efforts in educating the Japanese in the English language and in American ways and ideals. At present the school is organized with eight classes totaling 120 students, who are taught by six American teachers and two Japanese during the day. In the night school there are about sixty students. About one-fourth of these students are women and the remaining number are mostly young men who have recently arrived from Japan. Those who begin at the primary grade stay four years in the day school, and with the certificate of the school are admitted to the city high school. The school holds a two-

hour session daily for five days in the week, giving courses in American history and geography, English grammar and literature. In elementary classes they use "English for Foreigners" as their textbooks. On Friday they have devotional exercises for half an hour. Among the attendants are found some graduates of Japanese middle schools and even a few college men. There are in San Francisco several other schools of similar character, such as the Japanese Reformed Church School, the Morning Star Institute (Catholic Mission School), and the Buddhist Mission School. These schools are taught by a varying number of instructors, and attended by a fluctuating number of students, but always with a similar purpose and plan. Much the same condition prevails in other places than San Francisco.

Closely connected with these mission schools in purpose are numerous private instructors in English, both Japanese and American, all over the State. Their duty is to foster the learning of English among Japanese, and they devote their sole attention to the work of preparing Japanese who are unable to attend any school to become familiar with English conversation, as well as reading and writing.

Japanese Kindergartens.—Besides these mission schools and private instructors in English, there are numerous kindergartens for Japanese children all over the State. These kindergartens, as far as it is possible, employ American teachers for teaching English to the children whose ages range from three to six years. In San Francisco there are three Japanese private kindergartens, each employing an American teacher. As soon as the children reach the school age they are sent to public schools, where, because of their training in the kindergarten, they study under the American teachers without much difficulty.

Religious Institutions.—The Young Men's Christian Association and the Young Women's Christian Association of San Francisco have done much for the Japanese in the city to bring them into closer contact with Americans. Both associations employ secretaries and maintain respectable headquarters with facilities for social and cultural activities.

The Young Men's Christian Association of San Francisco maintains an American secretary for Americanization work among the foreign group of the city. The work among the Japanese boys is carried on under the direction of the secretary in co-operation with the Japanese secretary. Under their direction English classes have been established with an attendance of thirty to forty students.

Besides the English classes, there are social and lecture hours arranged for Japanese youths. For the work directly connected with Americanization the Christian Citizens Training Club has been organized. This club has about forty boys between twelve and fifteen years of age. The work is conducted on the basis of intellectual, devotional, physical, and service ideals. The leader of the group gives frequent talks on Lincoln, Washington, and Roosevelt, using the "Manual for Leaders" prepared by the Association Press of New York. The book has the subtitle of "A Program of Christian Citizenship Training for Boys of Twelve to Fourteen Years of Age." These boys are all in

the public schools. The idea that the Japanese leaders had in organizing such work was to educate the children on the basis of Christian principles. "The attitude toward the American institutions," commented the secretary, an American who has had much contact with the leaders and boys in this work among the Japanese, "was all serious and eager to learn anything which is highest and best. The Japanese endeavor more sincerely to achieve the best in American life than any other nationality I have had in this work."

The secretary was instrumental in securing English teachers and organizing classes in the Japanese Reformed Church English School and also at two shops. One, by the invitation of *The Japanese-American,* the daily newspaper of the city, is at their printing establishment and the other at the Mercury Laundry on Turk Street, San Francisco, California. In both cases the teachers are paid by the proprietors of the establishments and the men in the shops come into the classes and learn the language.

The American secretary has organized a Japanese High School Girls' Club in San Francisco, besides rendering numerous services to the Japanese women. The result of these activities has disclosed to Americans many commendable traits of the Japanese young men and women.

There are five Japanese centers for the Young Women's Christian Association in California and Hawaii—namely, San Francisco, Los Angeles, Oakland, Fresno, and Honolulu. These centers are under the direction of the so-called International Institute of the local Association. Besides these centers there are other groups under the direction of the secretary, at Marysville, San Mateo, and other localities.

Such centers maintain dormitories, employment departments, English and cooking classes, and publish a monthly bulletin for information about work among the Japanese. In connection with cooking classes the Board of Education of Los Angeles opened one of the public schools for the center, and the Japanese women are invited to use the facilities of the school, particularly for domestic science and household management. The Japanese secretaries employed for the work are practically all college graduates; one is a graduate of Oberlin College, another is a graduate of the University of Washington, another has taken some work in Columbia University; all of them are capable of interpreting American life to the newly arrived Japanese. The organization of American home life is so different from that of Japan that it is almost impossible for a Japanese woman to adjust herself to the new environment without being brought into contact with American ways and manners. The secretaries are largely instrumental in bridging these gaps in home life and social intercourse between their countrywomen and the Americans.

The International Institute for foreign-born women of the Young Women's Christian Association has also done much toward the Americanization of Japanese women. It is interesting to note the work of the Institute in San Francisco under the directorship of Mrs. Conklin. It is illustrative of Americanization work, projects, and result. This Institute is headquarters for the work among the foreign groups which maintain their own centers, such as Italians, Chinese, Japanese, Greeks,

and Russians. For each group there is a secretary or two, usually one visiting secretary to the foreign women. Thus the Institute comes into intimate contact with the home life of the foreign women.

The Japanese Center has four English classes with an enrollment of sixty women and girls. The number of sessions per month averages twenty-five. The families visited and assisted by the secretary were 117 in the calendar year of 1919. Most of the women in the classes are recent arrivals. Besides textbooks used, the method of teaching is very practical. A teacher might visit a store with the students to do shopping, or go to a postoffice and buy some stamps. Even in classes the teacher may give some practical suggestions in calling the fire department in case of fire, or calling a doctor in case of emergency. Sometimes practical instruction is given on dining-room etiquette, preparing of meals, sending out invitations, receiving and entertaining guests. On such occasions both Japanese and Americans are invited to participate in the practice.

On the social side there is a High School Girls' Club in San Francisco organized on a basis somewhat similar to the Girls' Reserve Corps. At present there are eighteen girls in the club. This group comes into contact with other international groups and American groups on many occasions. The secretary in charge of the Institute Center for the Japanese looks after the employment situation for Japanese women and the follow-up work for the newcomers to this country by visiting the homes and directing the work, if necessary. Also she keeps in close contact with the Japanese churches for other work among the women. In all this work these institutions endeavor to come in as close a contact as possible with foreign groups and the older settlers of the soil by giving such opportunity for the foreign-born elements to participate in various activities, social, religious, and cultural.

In other religious organizations, besides the Japanese churches where a good deal of Americanization work is beng carried on through intimate contact with American workers, two institutions may be mentioned which have directly or indirectly attempted to Americanize the Japanese through social work and to elevate their moral ideals. One is the "Den Do Dan," or the Japanese Interdenominational Board of Missions, and the other the Japanese Salvation Army of the Pacific Coast.

On the question of Americanization of Japanese women the Secretary of the International Institute of the San Francisco Y. W. C. A. states that the Japanese women are very eager to learn American ways. They are intelligent and very pleasant to meet and work with, especially on the common problem of the elevation of womanhood.

During the war the Japanese women took an active part in the Liberty Loan campaigns, in the Preparedness Parades, etc., particularly in the Red Cross drives.

The "Den Do Dan" was organized in 1911 in order to "meet new demands of the time in sending evangelists to all parts of the Western States, to bring all of the denominations into more compact cooperation, and to promote more efficient social service for the Japanese." For the secretary of the Board, Masasuke Kobayashi, devoted the entire time and resources at his command to carry on this work. The territory covered by the Board was the entire Pacific Coast. The

remarkable thing in this undertaking was that it was supported by non-Christians to the extent of 85 per cent of its entire expenditure. Among such supporters were farmers in the remotest districts of the country.

The motive in organizing the Board was to uplift the Japanese in this country by Christianizing them, and to counteract the unfortunate moral effect of the anti-alien land legislation agitation of this State which had just begun. The Japanese leaders saw in this problem the fundamental solution in Christianizing the Japanese settlers in this country. In this work the Board was successful in reaching our Japanese all over the country with the message of Christ for right living in accordance with the principles promulgated by Him.

In social work, the Japanese Salvation Army has done a wonderful work in launching the anti-gambling campaign in Stockton and Sacramento. Besides this work, the Army maintains rescue homes and homes for the disabled and aged. In other respects its work is the same as that conducted by the American Salvation Army among the Americans.

Religious Education.—According to the investigation made by Mr. Koshiro Unoura, a student at the Pacific School of Religion, Berkeley, California, there were in 1919, forty-two Christian Sunday Schools for Japanese, employing 179 teachers, thirty-seven of whom were Americans. The schools had 1,549 children and ninety-seven adults. The number of boys was 634 and that of girls 607. Out of forty-two schools, fifteen use the Japanese language and seven English, while the rest use both languages. Practically all agreed that the Japanese language is more adapted to those pupils below the public school age while English is adaptable to those above the public school age. While many of these schools need a great deal of improvement, they are undoubtedly performing a distinct part in the work of Americanization and in disseminating among the Japanese the religious ideals of the American people.

The Japanese Boy Scout Troops.—Another agency that is contributing much toward the Americanization of Japanese who were born here is found in the Japanese Boy Scout troops in this State. In San Francisco Troop 12 consists of Japanese boys under the Scout Master, Yoshizo Sano, who was the original organizer of the troop in 1915, before the present Council of Boy Scouts of San Francisco was established. Mr. Sano is perhaps the only Scout Master in the city who holds that distinction even though he is still an unnaturalized citizen of this country. The present honor has been conferred upon him since he is one of the two Scout Masters of the original troops of the city. The troop consists of twenty-five boys, all American-born. Among its activities during the past years may be mentioned the rendering of first aid in numerous accidents; securing Liberty Bond subscriptions; planting and caring for war gardens; securing Red Cross members; ushering at meetings at the Civic Auditorium; acting as guides to the Japanese training ship; distributing pledge cards and posters for the Food Conservation Committee; acting as messengers and assisting in office work at the headquarters of the Red Cross Society; participating

in the Liberty Day drive; assisting in the sale of thrift stamps and numerous other activities.

Alameda Troop No. 7, Boy Scouts of America, was organized in 1917 with nine boys and gradually increased to eighteen, with the total enrollment of every available boy for the Japanese group in that district. This troop is connected with the Japanese M. E. Church, South, Alameda, California. The troop received a pennant won in an athletic contest in which seven other troops composed of boys of the white race contested. Also a silver cup won from the Japanese Boy Scout Troop of San Francisco, by virtue of being victorious in two out of three annual athletic contests at the Stadium, Golden Gate Park. Each of these contests included fourteen events. Four of these boys are proud possessors of medals bestowed by the United States Government for the sale of Liberty Bonds. There are also Japanese troops in Sacramento, Watsonville, and Los Angeles. Plans of organizing more Japanese troops are also afoot in other cities of the State.

English Publications and Periodicals.—The importance of English publications for the Americanization of foreign groups is recognized, but at present the only periodical that is published by the Japanese in the English language is *The Japan Review,* a students' organ, which is published monthly in Chicago. It devotes its pages to the promotion of better understanding between this country and Japan. Other periodicals which contain English columns are *The Japanese-American,* the daily paper published in San Francisco, and the *New York Commercial Weekly,* published in that city twice a week. The former prints an English page once a week, with editorial comments and other sundry matters, and the latter devotes a page or two for commercial news of the Orient.

CHAPTER X

JAPANESE CITIZENSHIP

"Once a Japanese, always a Japanese," is the allegation freely exploited by anti-Japanese agitators. Some go even so far as to state that Japan does not permit her subjects to expatriate themselves and that she has never given consent to renounce allegiance to the Mikado.—(Mr. V. S. McClatchy in *The Sacramento Bee*, July 26, 1920.) That the Japanese are not always Japanese and that they are as much assimilable as any other race, has been discussed fully in the previous chapter. In this chapter it is necessary to point out the fallacy of the foregoing allegation from the legal point of view.

Expatriation of Japanese Abroad.—The allegation that Japan does not allow her subjects abroad to expatriate and to absolve themselves from allegiance to their Emperor is not true. This is obvious from the following extracts from the Japanese Law of Nationality:

Article 18. When a Japanese by becoming the wife of a foreigner has acquired the husband's nationality, then such Japanese loses (her) Japanese nationality.

Article 20. A person who has voluntarily acquired a foreign nationality loses Japanese nationality.

Article 20 Bis. In case a Japanese subject who has acquired foreign nationality by reason of his or her birth in a foreign country has domicile in that country, he or she may be expatriated with the permission of the Minister of State for Home Affairs.

The application for the permission referred to in the preceding paragraph shall be made by the legal representative in case the person to be expatriated is younger than fifteen years of age. If the person in question is a minor above fifteen years of age, or a person adjudged incompetent, the application can only be made with the consent of his or her legal representative or guardian.

A stepfather, a stepmother, a legal mother, or a guardian may not make the application or give the consent prescribed in the preceding paragraph without the consent of the family council.

A person who has been expatriated loses Japanese nationality.

Article 23. A Japanese child who, through legal procedure, has acquired a foreign nationality loses Japanese nationality.

Article 24. A male above the full age of seventeen or more does not lose Japanese nationality under the provisions of the preceding six articles, until he shall have served in the army, navy or otherwise he has no obligation thereto.

These provisions, particularly in *Article 20 Bis.*, entirely clarify the situation. Japan allows her subjects to expatriate; she allows her male Japanese subject to expatriate before he attains the age of seventeen.

The Japanese Law of Nationality follows the principle that a Japanese soldier may not cease to be one by expatriation. But it equally clearly provides "that a Japanese boy who has acquired a foreign nationality by reason of his birth in the territories of such country, provided he has domicile in that country, may divest himself of Japanese nationality, if his father or other parental authority takes the necessary steps for him before he is fifteen; or if he has attained the age of fifteen, he may take the same step with the consent of his father or other parental authority until he attains the age of seventeen." This

authoritative summary is quoted from Dr. T. Miyaoka, a most eminent member of the Tokyo Bar and the Secretary of the Japan Peace Society. In short, the present Law of Nationality positively permits the expatriation of Japanese boys and girls born in any of the states of the American Union before he or she is fifteen or at the latest before he is seventeen.

Thus, any American-born Japanese can apply for and obtain an expatriation permit in compliance with the Japanese Law of Nationality by submitting the following data to the Japanese Consulate:

1. Declaration of expatriation.
   .....(Original address.)
   .....(Address of domicile.)
   .....(Name in full.)
   (Reasons why he or she has acquired the nationality of another country.)
   I hereby report the fact that I have lost the nationality of Japan on account of the above stated reason.
   (Born in America: Sufficient reason.)
   (Date.) (Signature and seal.)
   (Proof: Birth certificate.) (Date of birth.)
   To the Home Minister.
2. Applicant's Japanese family record.
3. Official certificate of birth from the local authority of the place where the applicant was born.
4. Report or certificate, comprising:
   (a) Data as to the applicant's visit to Japan, if any. How many times? When? How long in each case?
   (b) Date from which the applicant's parent began to live in the country where the applicant was born. Also names of relatives living with the applicant, if any.

American-Born Japanese and Dual Nationality.—An American-born Japanese is a citizen *jure soli* of the United States of America under the fourteenth amendment to the Constitution of the United States. At the same time, he is a subject of Japan *jure sanguinis* under the Japanese Law of Nationality. "A child is a Japanese, if his or her father is a Japanese at the time of his or her birth."—(Japanese Civil Code III, p. 66.) This is the cause of dual nationality or citizenship. Hence the charge that a Japanese is always a Japanese, wherever he is born. Although it is not necessary here to go into any detailed technical discussion of the subject, it is of great importance to point out the general attitude of the Japanese in America toward the question of dual nationality, as well as the true practice among the Japanese.

In the first place, it must be understood that the question of dual nationality is raised not only in the case of the American-born Japanese, but also in the case of American-born Europeans. The French Civil Code, for example, provides that "every person born of a Frenchman in France or abroad" is a Frenchman.—(Civil Code, Art. VII, Sec. 1.) The German Nationality Law adopted on July 23, 1913, says: "German citizenship is not lost by a German who has, before acquiring foreign citizenship, secured from the competent authorities of his home state the written permission to retain his original citizenship."

Mr. Gresham, as Secretary of State, said in one of such cases: "While a person born in the United States, though of alien parents, is by the laws thereof a citizen, yet should he be taken by his parents while a minor to the country of which they are subjects he becomes amenable

to the laws of that country and subject to a claim of allegiance thereunder *jure sanguinis.*" In another case the Department of State said: "Upon this state of facts you are under our laws a citizen of the United States by reason of your birth in this country, but by the German law you are a subject of Germany."—(Mr. Uhl, Acting Secretary of State, to Mr. Rudolph, May 22, 1895.) For the cases that relate to several other European countries see the following: France, Foreign Relations 1888, I, 498; Italy, American Journal of International Law 9, Supp. 1915; Austria, Foreign Relations 1886, 12; Switzerland, Foreign Relations 1885, 811.

Expatriation of American-Born Japanese Encouraged.—As early as 1915, the Conference of the Japanese Associations of the Pacific Coast took the initiative in solving the question by resolving to encourage allegiance to America among the American-born Japanese and to take the necessary means to facilitate the realization of that end. Lately we have had numerous responses in favor of the idea. Many Japanese are beginning to avoid registering their children as "Japanese." At another Conference of the above-mentioned bodies assembled in San Francisco, June 24-26, 1920, it was resolved that the Associations represented at the Conference should use every possible influence to abolish the tendency among the Japanese who are born in America to hold dual nationality and to adopt the policy of following American citizenship only. It was further resolved that all our fellow-Japanese in America be instructed to that effect and every local Japanese Association be pledged to carry out the resolution thus adopted.

Some Reasons for Dual Nationality.—It is important to note a few reasons why the Japanese have a tendency to maintain dual nationality. The Japanese in America have shown their assimilability and would gladly bring up their children as American citizens, if it were not for the existence of prejudice against them. Moreover, they are denied the right of naturalization and compelled to suffer all sorts of limitations and restrictions. If their children were to be brought up only as American citizens, their families would be divided into two nationalities, for, no matter what the desires of the parents may be, they can not become American citizens themselves. Under these circumstances, the Japanese alone are not to blame, and they must be sympathized with in their desire of going back to Japan to live the rest of their lives and of registering their children to meet that situation—a desire which is gradually disappearing, but which still lingers among some Japanese. Thus, with a tendency toward permanent settlement, despite all sorts of prejudices and legal handicaps, they are gradually adopting single citizenship.

It is my belief that the Japanese Government is willing to co-operate in terminating dual nationality, as indicated in her Law of Nationality, which permits expatriation upon liberal conditions. The Japanese in America have shown their willingness to adopt single citizenship despite all sorts of limitations, restrictions, prejudices, and inconveniences. It remains for the American Government to do its part in solving the situation by extending the right of naturalization to Japanese.

The Conscription Law of Japan.—There is another important phase in Japanese citizenship—namely, the conscription law with reference to the Japanese, particularly the American-born Japanese, in America.

In Japan the military service is compulsory to every male of a certain age and proper physical condition. He is enrolled in the Japanese army at the age of seventeen, and called to actual service at twenty. However, an exemption, or the postponement of service which results ultimately in an exemption, is legally granted to any Japanese resident in any foreign country other than China, if exemption is claimed, properly accompanied by a certificate of his residence issued for the purpose by a Consul of Japan. When he is over the age of thirty-seven, moreover, even if he was annually claiming exemption, he is entirely exempt from any military service and is free from being called to serve unless there is an extraordinary occasion thereafter. Furthermore, those who have served the required years in the army before emigrating into foreign countries may be, if they properly claim it, exempt from conscription.

It may well be noted here that a majority of the Japanese young men in America today not only have not served in the Japanese army, but claim exemption from compulsory military service in Japan. This fact alone proves the fallacy of the statements of anti-Japanese agitators who say that nearly all Japanese male residents in America constitute a Japanese military reserve in America, prepared for any crisis.

It is interesting to note that members of the League of American Citizens, which is composed of native-born Japanese of Hawaii, petitioned in 1918 the Diet of Japan to relieve them of the duties of Japanese citizenship by revising the Civil Code relating to Nationality. The petition states: "We, the members of the League, were born of Japanese parentage in the United States of America and have always lived here. We have received education here and expect to remain as American citizens. We desire to express our undivided loyalty to the country of our birth with fidelity equal to that of any other citizen born in this land. However, the present Japanese law relating to citizenship places us in an embarrassing position of double allegiance. Consequently it has been charged that our allegiance has been divided and therefore we are not loyal American citizens. In order to express our true attitude in this matter, it compels us to petition the government of our fathers that such laws should be passed so that we may settle here without the shadow of a divided allegiance to the country of our birth which protects our life and gives us our comfort. But as long as Japan binds us with legal provisions, and regards us as her citizens, it is impossible for us to realize our expectations and hopes. Furthermore, it is our sincere hope, though in our humble way, to contribute our share to the realization of a closer relation between America and Japan. This is our duty as well as our privilege. Therefore, we respectfully petition the Legislature of Japan to enact a law which will provide for the freedom of choice of our citizenship without any legal restrictions, so that there shall be no question of our allegiance in future."

Many Japanese who are born in America remain unregistered in Japan and they are immune from any Japanese law. Thus they are genuine citizens of America and the Japanese Government has no power whatsoever over them.

CHAPTER XI

THE GENTLEMEN'S AGREEMENT

One of the disputed points in the recent hearings of the Congressional Committee on Immigration on the Pacific Coast was the effectiveness of the Gentlemen's Agreement in regulating Japanese immigration. The opponents of the Japanese declared that the Japanese violated the agreement by sending laborers in large numbers, as well as others who, though not classed as laborers, came with the intention of working as laborers.

In 1907 immigration from Japan was largest. Then California demanded that the Chinese exclusion laws be applied to Japanese. Japan, wishing to solve the problem without sacrificing her national honor, made an arrangement with the United States to stop all labor immigration. According to the statement of the Agreement published by the Commissioner General of Immigration in 1908, it reads in part:

"This understanding contemplates that the Japanese Government shall issue passports to Continental United States only to such of its subjects as are non-laborers or are laborers who, in coming to the continent, seek to resume a formerly acquired domicile, to join a parent, wife, or children residing there, or to assume active control of an already possessed interest in a farming enterprise in this country; so that the three classes of laborers entitled to receive passports have come to be designated former residents; parents, wives, or children of residents; and settled agriculturists."—(The Report of the Commissioner General of Immigration for 1908, p. 125.)

This is the Agreement which the anti-Japanese propagandists charge has been constantly violated in letter and in spirit by Japan. They charge that three methods were employed in violating the Agreement, namely, (1) admission of laborers, (2) admission of "picture brides," and (3) increase of births in this country through the importation of "picture brides."

From April 15, 1910, to December 31, 1919, according to Mr. V. S. McClatchy, Japanese immigrants admitted to the State under the Gentlemen's Agreement were 32,196, while those who departed were 7,110, a net increase of 25,086. He further alleges that they were all laborers. But these assertions can not be reconciled with the following important statistical facts.

Statistical Facts.—Report of the Commissioner General of Immigration gives much important information upon the Gentlemen's Agreement. The Agreement prohibits the admission of "new laborers" from Japan but admits the following three classes, whether laborers or non-laborers: (1) Former residents who return to America from Japan; (2) parents, wives, and children of Japanese residing in America; and (3) Japanese who have settled in America as agriculturists.

With this fact in mind, let us examine the following tables, compiled from Annual Reports of the Commissioner General of Immigration:

JAPANESE ARRIVALS TO AND DEPARTURES FROM CONTINENTAL UNITED STATES.

Year	*Arrivals*	*Departures*
1908	9,544	4,796
1909	2,432	5,004
1910	2,598	5,024
1911	4,285	5,869
1912	5,358	5,437
1913	6,771	5,647
1914	8,462	6,300
1915	9,029	5,967
1916	9,100	6,922
1917	9,159	6,581
1918	11,143	7,691
1919	11,404	8,328
1920	12,868	11,662

The decline of figures in 1909, 1910, 1911, 1912, and 1913 is the result of the working of the Gentlemen's Agreement. On the other hand, the increase of Japanese arrivals in the past several years is due to the following facts:

1. Due to the War, Japanese officials, business men, etc., going to Europe, have passed through the United States. The figures for such Japanese must be twice the actual number, because they are counted once at Pacific ports upon arrival from Japan, and counted again at Atlantic ports upon their return from Europe.

2. The War obliged many Japanese students, who would have gone to Europe in normal times, to come to the United States.

3. The enormous increase of American-Japanese trade resulting from the War caused many Japanese firms to send agents to America and to establish branch offices and agencies in San Francisco, Seattle, New York, and other leading American cities. Many of the office forces brought their families with them. These naturally increased Japanese arrivals.

In 1914 Japan imported from America $54,000,000 worth of commodities. In 1918 this amount increased to $275,000,000. In other words, the Japanese purchases from America increased more than five-fold in five years. In the same period Japanese exports to America increased five times.

If we classify Japanese arrivals as to males and females, we have the following:

Year	*Males*	*Females*	*Total*
1909	1,777	867	2,644
1910	1,648	1,039	2,687
1911	2,377	1,905	4,282
1912	2,930	2,428	5,358
1913	4,012	2,759	6,771
1914	5,034	3,428	8,462
1915	5,542	3,487	9,029
1916	5,869	3,231	9,100
1917	5,833	3,326	9,159
1918	7,100	4,043	11,143
1919	7,034	4,370	11,404
1920	7,630	5,238	12,868

If we further divide arrivals into four classes recognized by the Gentlemen's Agreement, we have the following table:

JAPANESE ARRIVALS, CLASSIFIED UNDER THE GENTLEMEN'S AGREEMENT, TO THE CONTINENTAL UNITED STATES.

Year	*Former Residents Returning*	*Wives Admitted*	*Children Admitted*	*Laborers With Proper Passports Returning*
1909	850	665	275	295
1910	838	880	268	245
1911	1,202	1,669	513	351
1912	1,869	2,108	538	602
1913	2,873	2,398	642	1,175
1914	3,852	3,015	786	1,514
1915	4,063	2,672	1,269	1,545
1916	4,150	2,478	1,325	1,695
1917	4,128	2,397	1,432	1,647
1918	4,958	2,824	1,685	1,774
1919	4,096	3,192	1,685	1,265
1920	5,199	3,817	1,488	2,604

In the face of these facts, we can assert that the Gentlemen's Agreement has been strictly adhered to. Summing up from the foregoing tables the figures for the successive years since the Agreement went into full operation, i. e., from 1909 to 1919, we find that total admittances to the continental United States (excluding Hawaii) number 79,738, of whom 49,156 are males and 30,883 females. Of the total admitted 35,275 are relatives of residents, namely, parents 560, wives 24,298, and children 10,417, while 32,879 are former residents, and the remainder returning laborers. It is worth noticing that over 40 per cent of the total arrivals are women and children, while only 12,108 are recorded as returning laborers. It is also important to note that many laborers return to Japan year after year. Unfortunately the figures for departing laborers are not available, as the Reports of the Commissioner General of Immigration do not classify departures into laborers and non-laborers. However, Commissioner General Caminetti stated to the Senate Committee on Immigration on October 10, 1919, that during the years 1909 and 1919, 13,578 more Japanese males had left the United States, including Hawaii, than had entered, which fact is proof of a material diminution of Japanese laborers.

The increase of Japanese population in California, according to the figures of the State Board of Control, is 25,592 by immigration and 20,331 by births. Of this increase of 25,592 by immigration it is safely assumed that about 13,000 are wives who joined their husbands and settled in California during the last census period. Of 24,298 wives admitted to the continental United States we can safely assume that 55 to 60 per cent have settled in California. This is a maximum and not a minimum estimate. When we take into consideration approximately six to seven thousand minors admitted, there remains a very small margin of others who have been admitted into the State under the Agreement. This same conclusion has been maintained by Hon. William Phillips, Acting Secretary of State.—(California and the Orientals, p. 143.)

"**Picture Brides.**"—The second charge made against Japan is that Japan by the "picture bride" system has been violating the Gentlemen's Agreement. It is declared that "the picture bride has proved a twofold violator of the intent of the Agreement, in that she is a laborer, working beside her picture bridegroom in the field." Senator Phelan testified before the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization at Washington that the number of "picture brides" who came into continental United States from 1915 to 1919 was 13,913, and to Hawaii 6864, making a total of 20,877.—(Hearing Report, p. 190.) The annual Reports of the Commissioner General of Immigration give no figures on "picture brides," although figures are given as to the number of "females" admitted year by year and also as to the total number of "wives."

The Japanese Association of America, however, has had access to the records of the Immigration Office at San Francisco, from which it has compiled the statistics of "picture brides" admitted at that port. Similar figures have also been compiled for the Port of Seattle. Thus the following table has been prepared:

Year	*San Francisco*	*Seattle*	*Total*
1912	879	...	879
1913	625	...	625
1914	768	...	768
1915	823	150	973
1916	486	144	630
1917	504	206	710
1918	520	281	801
1919	668	267	935
1920	697	...*	697
	5,970	1,048	7,018

*The figures for Seattle for 1920 are not yet available.

So far as accessible records show, therefore, the number of "picture brides" admitted to continental United States for the years 1912 to 1919 was 6321, instead of 13,813 as quoted by Senator Phelan. These figures include those who came prior to 1915. If we take figures for only the years 1915 to 1919, as does Senator Phelan, the number is reduced to 4049 instead of the Senator's 13,813. Perhaps the Senator assumed that all "wives" were "picture brides," which is not the case. Not a few of them are wives of Japanese who are connected with business firms which have established offices in various parts of the United States in the past several years. Many are women who were married to their husbands before the latter left Japan for this country, and who have come to join them in America.

"**Picture Bride**" **a Misnomer.**—The term "picture bride" is a misnomer and calls for explanation.

When a young man living in America desires to marry, but is prevented by various reasons from going home, he writes to his parents, who proceed to find a suitable girl. Having fixed on an eligible person, they intimate to the girl's parents that they are desirous of securing her marriage to their son in America. The parents on either side spare no pains in inquiring into the character, social standing, family relations, genealogy, health, and education of the young man and woman.

With a view to ensuring satisfactory marriage the Japanese Consulate does not allow any resident to send for a wife unless it is satisfied that he is morally and materially qualified to make a home. With that in view, the Japanese Consulate requires that a prospective husband must first apply to the Japanese Association. The Association then looks carefully into the business, the moral character, and personal life of the applicant. It must find out whether the applicant is financially able and morally competent to assume family responsibility. It reports its findings to the Consulate, which in turn transmits them to the Government in Tokio. Upon the strength of these findings the Government issues a passport to a girl whose fiancé has been thus investigated and approved. Before the woman leaves Japan her name is registered with the family of the prospective husband in the local recorder's office, thus completing the legal procedure of marriage. Thus she assumes the family name of her husband. On arrival in San Francisco or Seattle she is met at the Immigration Office by her prospective husband, and in the presence of an American officer each recognizes the other as husband or wife.

Abolition of "Picture Marriage."—If we look at it in the above light, there is nothing objectionable in the practice of "picture marriage." It is, therefore, but natural that the American Government should regard this marriage practice, as it has regarded it, as legal and valid. The institution of "picture marriage" is not confined to Japanese immigrants alone; it prevails among European immigrants in America. It is strange that the Americans should object to this Japanese practice and overlook entirely the same practice among Europeans. These statements, however, should not be taken to mean that we are advocating the practice. Far from it, we have recognized its inefficiency in modern society, and out of respect for American standards we have lately carried through a measure which prohibits it entirely.

In order to present the reasons for the abolition of the practice of "picture marriages," I shall herewith quote at length the resolution which was adopted at the meeting of the Board of Directors of the Japanese Association of America on November 30, 1919:

"It is the sense of the Board of Directors of the Japanese Association of America that the so-called "picture marriage" which has been practiced among certain classes of Japanese residing in this country should be abolished because it is not only in contravention of the accepted American conception of marriage, but is also out of harmony with the growing ideals of the Japanese themselves. With this belief in mind, the Board of Directors will make the utmost efforts to carry out this resolution.

"The Board of Directors does not entertain the slightest doubt that this recommendation will be cheerfully and readily accepted by the members of the Association as well as by Japanese residents who are not its members. Through the persistent and painstaking campaign for Americanization which has been extensively carried on by the Japanese Association in the past several months, the Japanese in this State have come to realize that the practice of marriage through ex-

change of photographs is incompatible with the ideals and customs of the American people.

"We understand that the Government of Japan has also been considering the advisability of prohibiting this practice. Without awaiting a formal announcement on this matter on the part of the Japanese Government, we have come to the conclusion that we should request it to adopt adequate measures to stop this practice.

"The above decision on the part of the Board of Directors implies no intimation that 'picture marriage' is illegal and that the coming of 'picture brides' to America has been in violation of the 'Gentlemen's Agreement.'

"We consider it most important and necessary that the Japanese in America should marry and settle down in domestic life, because the home is not only essential to the wholesome existence of individuals, but is also the foundation of a stable national and social structure. The Japanese are going to stay in this country. If they are going to stay here, we consider it best for them to marry and make homes. Since they have shown a greater desire for home life, drinking, gambling, and other evil practices among them have become much less and the moral condition of the Japanese community has greatly improved.

"There is no question as to the desirability of the Japanese settling down in home life. At the same time we urge that in marrying and making their homes, the Japanese in America should do nothing which is contrary to the ideals and customs of the country in which they live.

"We shall take immediate steps to carry out this decision, but we realize that the complete enforcement of such a measure requires time. There must be a small number of women who have recently been married through the exchange of photographs, but who are now expecting to sail for America. It would be unjust to deprive these women of the privilege of coming to their husbands here. But when this decision comes into effect, no more marriages of this nature will be permitted. We are, therefore, confident that within a few months the coming of 'picture brides' will completely cease."

The Yoshi, or Adopted Son.—Another alleged violation of the Gentlemen's Agreement which has recently been brought out by the anti-Japanese agitators was in the form of Yoshi, or adoption of a child who would be called to this country. They charge that the "adopted son," after arriving in this country, annuls the adoption and sends for his real father, thus making an endless chain of immigration.

According to the Japanese family system, when the head of a family has no child he adopts a child to succeed him in order to perpetuate the family name. In practice it is the usual custom to adopt a child into a family from among relatives or acquaintances. This custom has been followed by Japanese immigrants in America, especially by those early settlers who had no children and who desired to adopt a child to be their companion and successor in old age. However, the Japanese Government adopted the regulation that only those cases which come strictly under the Gentlemen's Agreement may be allowed to leave the country. According to this regulation, no adopted son over twenty years of age can leave the country, and one must be adopted at least

for five years before he leaves Japan. During the years between the adoption and the coming of the son to America the adopting father must prove that he has been supporting the child.

Mr. A. E. Burnett, an Inspector of United States Department of Labor, stationed at Los Angeles, said in his letter to the California Board of Control, that there were only twenty-three Japanese statements filed by the Japanese in behalf of adopted sons during 1918 and 1919.—(Report of Board of Control, p. 145.) The Japanese Association of America, which had access to the figures of immigrants coming through the Immigration Office in San Francisco, finds that only sixty-one adopted sons entered the port during 1919. However, the Japanese Government has recently practically ceased issuing passports to adopted sons. Recently announcement was made by the Toyo Kisen Kaisha (Oriental Steamship Company) of San Francisco to the effect that the office in Yokohama, Japan, was instructed by the Japanese Government not to sell any more tickets to passengers under the classification of adopted sons.

Smuggling.—It has been charged by anti-Japanese agitators that another way of violating the Gentlemen's Agreement is found in surreptitious entry of Japanese into this country. They assert that this method is encouraged and aided by organized forces abroad and in this country. Such entries are, according to them, made across the border, especially the Mexican border, and by big fishing boats manned by Japanese which are constantly going back and forth between American and Mexican waters.

The Japanese associations have never rendered assistance in any way to Japanese who attempt to enter the United States from Mexico or any other country. On the other hand, we have always co-operated with the immigration authorities in preventing smuggling and in locating and identifying those who have entered this country unlawfully. The immigration authorities can bear testimony to this statement. As for smuggling across the Mexican border, it is something about which our Association knows nothing. If there is an organized system for smuggling, it is wholly unknown to us. At the same time we know that the Japanese Government is doing the utmost to prevent the surreptitious entrance of Japanese from Mexico. We feel, however, that the responsibility rests with the United States Government to stop effectively the entrance of Japanese from across the Mexican border, if there really are so many cases of smuggling as have been commonly reported.

CHAPTER XII

A REVIEW OF THE REPORT OF THE CALIFORNIA BOARD OF CONTROL ENTITLED "CALIFORNIA AND THE ORIENTAL"

The California State Board of Control, by publishing a report entitled "California and the Oriental," has contributed an interesting piece of literature on the Japanese problem in the State. The Report contains a wide range of subjects, such as Japanese population, birth rate, land ownership, fishing, industry, labor, corporations, "picture brides," Gentlemen's Agreement, smuggling, citizenship, and schools. The appendix contains the memorial addressed to President Wilson by the Japanese Association of America. While by no means exhaustive in scope and investigation, it embodies much valuable information and data. It is valuable, first of all, as an indication of the attitude of State officials toward the so-called Oriental problem, and, especially, the Japanese problem in California. In the second place, the Report is indicative of the extent of the investigation and the knowledge on the part of the State officials of the real conditions and situation now existing in the State with reference to the Japanese problem. In the third place, the data collected suggest many points of interest for further investigation.

Governor Stephens instructed the State Board of Control to "investigate and prepare an accurate, detailed, and comprehensive report, which includes all necessary and pertinent facts, and be of such nature that it may serve as an official and authentic document for the guidance of the State and national authorities in dealing with this question and presenting California's attitude regarding the problem which has been the natural outgrowth of such conditions." The Board, according to instructions, compiled available data and reported to the Governor, who in turn transmitted the report with his letter to Hon. Bainbridge Colby, Secretary of State.

In this chapter we attempt to analyze the Report and point out certain fundamental errors in its method of investigation and presentation of data so collected

Japanese Population.—In discussing the Japanese population in the first section of the Report, it states that the Japanese in California have increased from 41,356 April 15, 1910, to 87,279 December 31, 1919, or 111 per cent. This increase consists of 25,592 net by immigration and 20,331 net by birth. This is the result of the statistical inquiry into the Japanese population in California which Governor Stephens refers to as "skillful evasions" of the so-called "Gentlemen's Agreement" on the part of Japan. Points of contention on the Japanese population problem in California are—first, increase of immigrants, particularly laborers; second, the high birth rate among the Japanese in the State.

The fact is that the increase of the Japanese population consists of approximately 13,000 women who came to America to join their hus-

bands, about 5,000 minors depending upon their parents having their homes here, and approximately 7,500 who had established domicile here and came back after a short visit to Japan. Consequently, the actual figures show that in the last ten years there has been no increase of new immigrants of the laboring class. The principal cause of increase in the Japanese population is a natural and normal increase in the number of women and consequently that of children.

Acting Secretary of State Hon. William Phillips affirms this fact when he quotes the Secretary of Labor, who states that "Under a natural law of immigration every new immigration movement includes a preponderance of men, and that as immigration from a country becomes more normal, or settled, the women follow in increasing numbers." Therefore, when the Japanese population of the State becomes normal, with an equal sex distribution, the Japanese population will in all probability decrease to a certain point. It is most unfortunate, therefore, that the Report of the Board of Control does not analyze the figures, and creates the impression that the increase consists of new immigrants of the laboring class and consequently is a violation of the spirit of the Gentlemen's Agreement.

Birth Rate.—In discussing the birth rate of the Japanese, the Report has the figures for the total registered births for whites, Japanese, Negroes, Chinese, and Indians, and figures showing the comparative fecundity of the various races. In the Report some figures were obtained from the Japanese Association of America and others from the records of the State Board of Health. In the tables and charts contained in the Report we are informed that the birth rate of the Japanese is high compared with the rest of the racial groups in the State. In 1910 Japanese births represented one out of every forty-four children born in the State. In 1919, Japanese births represented one out of every thirteen children born in the State. In certain selected counties they reached as high as 49.7 per cent. In the comparison of relative fecundity of Japanese and white women, we are told that the fecundity of the Japanese is nearly three times that of the white.

Let us now examine the comment of the Report on this question. On page 37 it states that "While the Japanese birth rate is far in excess of that of all other nationalities in this State, this is not infrequently true of a new people immigrating into a new land." Even in recognizing the truth of the fundamental law of immigration relative to the birth rate of a new immigrant group, we are informed that the Japanese birth rate is far in excess of that of other nationalities in this State, a statement which has not been substantiated by any conclusive evidence.

The Report fails to analyze the causes of increase in the Japanese birth rate. It does not tell whether it is a normal or abnormal phenomenon in the Japanese group. Without discussing this important phase of the problem, the Report picks out certain localities with a comparatively large Japanese population, and infers therefrom that nearly half of the births registered are Japanese, as though this were the general and normal state among the Japanese. In this vague and indefinite way, and without direct comment or analysis, the Report

presents its investigation of the problem as accurate data concerning Japanese conditions throughout the State.

An examination of figures for relative fecundity of Japanese and white women shows a subtle way of proving a preconceived idea. The figures for white women are taken from the United States census of 1910, and those for the Japanese from the special census taken by the Japanese Association of America in 1919. Between the two dates is an interval of nearly ten years. A comparison such as this without any qualification is most unscientific. Yet the figures so compared are the basis of the sweeping statement that the "Japanese birth rate is far in excess of that of all other nationalities in this State."

According to Professors Jenks and Lauk, "the average number of children borne by women under forty-five years of age, married from ten to nineteen years, was 2.7 for native white women of native parentage, and 4.4 for the native white women of foreign parentage. Among those races studied, the highest birth rate was found among the Poles, with 6.2 for the women of the first generation and 5.1 for those of the second. Next to these rank the French Canadians, with 5.8 for the first generation and 4.9 for the second." This comparison shows that the birth rate for the Poles is about 2.5 times as many as the native whites in the corresponding period, which will show that the high birth rate is not due to peculiar racial characteristics of the Japanese, but is the condition found among practically all the immigrant groups.—(Vide J. W. Jenks and W. J. Lauk, The Immigration Problems, third edition, N. Y., 1913, p. 62 f.)

The Report, it seems to us, attempts to prove the high birth rate of Japanese by the figures collected from particular localities where, for economic or other specific reasons, Japanese are more numerous and more prolific than elsewhere, and presents those figures as a general case. This is particularly true with Chart 4, in which we have selected counties for a graphic presentation, and its comment on page 37, which states that "In eighteen selected counties of the State, the average births of Japanese have risen from 3.2 per cent of the total births in 1910 to 12.3 per cent in 1919. In the rural parts of Sacramento County, 49.7 per cent of all births in 1919 were Japanese." The Report is not an authentic record which reveals the true condition of the Japanese in California, and especially concerning this subject of birth rate, which has been constantly misrepresented. Unfortunately, the Report as published brings out only partial figures, with certain comments based upon an assumption or partial observation.

If we examine very closely Chart 4, in which we find the counties so selected as to show high birth rate of the Japanese, we note in the graphic presentation for the total of the State, that the marked increase was up to 1916, and from that date to 1919 there was no marked increase, but the rate was stationary. Furthermore, of the eighteen counties mentioned, Los Angeles, Colusa, Santa Cruz, Solano, Placer, and Santa Barbara show a marked decrease in birth rate. In these counties the Japanese immigrants have been permanently settled for some years, and their economic status improved and their assimilation in the environment has firmly taken place. In such places we have evidence of a declining birth rate. It is our conviction that as soon as

the Japanese population becomes normal, with a settled life and culture in the American environment, the birth rate will be normal. No one need entertain the fear that the Japanese will overrun the State by reason of their fecundity.

Land Question.—According to statistical tabulation in the Report, in discussing the land question, the total acreage owned by the Japanese at the end of 1919 was 74,769 acres and that under lease or crop contract was 383,287, making a total of 458,056 acres. The total area of irrigated land in California, according to the Report, is "3,893,500 acres, which comprise, very largely, the best lands in the State. Of this total, Japanese, Chinese, and Hindoos, on December 31, 1919, occupied 623,752 acres, approximately 16 per cent of the total, of which 88,944 were owned in fee or under contract of purchase and 534,808 acres were held by lease or crop contract. *Japanese and Japanese corporations occupy 458,056 acres of the whole total.*" Furthermore, under "the schedule of Japanese Farm Products, the figures compiled by the State Bureau of Labor Statistics for 1909 show the total acreage occupied by Japanese at that time to be 83,252 acres, and for the year 1919 the figures given by the Japanese Agricultural Association of California are 427,029 acres—an increase during the ten years, of 412.9 per cent."

The impression is, of course, that the Japanese occupy nearly a half million acres out of 3,893,500 acres of the best agricultural land of the State, and that their increase of land control during the last ten years has been over 400 per cent.

This conclusion is incorrect for various reasons. The Report on the land question, obtained figures from two different sources—namely, the acreage for the year 1909 was from the State Bureau of Labor Statistics and that for the year 1919 was from the Japanese Agricultural Association of California. We have not been informed why it has obtained the first from one source and the second from another source. Since the figures of the Report for acreage under Japanese cultivation for the year 1919 are obtained from the report submitted by the Japanese Agricultural Association of California, let us take figures for the year 1909 also from the same source. According to the statistical investigation published by the Japanese-American Year Book for the year 1910, we have the following report: In 1909 the Japanese owned 16,449.5 acres of land in the State. They also leased 80,231.5 acres and cultivated 57,001.5 acres under crop share contracts and 42,267.5 acres under other forms of contract, the total acreage amounting to 195,959 acres. In the same Year Book, the following table is found:

ACREAGE CULTIVATED BY JAPANESE

Year	*Acreage Owned*	*Leased*	*Share*	*Contract*	*Total*
1905	2,442	35,258½	19,572½	4,775	62,098
1906	8,671	41,855½	24,826	22,100	97,452½
1907	13,815	56,889½	48,228½	13,359	132,292
1908	15,114½	55,971½	57,578½	26,138½	154,802½

The above table will show that as far back as 1906 the total acreage under Japanese cultivation was much larger than the figures obtained by the State Bureau of Labor Statistics for the year 1909.

According to Japanese figures, then, the increase between 1909 and 1919 is as follows:

1909—Japanese cultivated 195,959 acres.

1919—Japanese cultivated 427,029 acres.

This is only 117.8 per cent increase during the ten years, instead of 412.9 per cent, given in the Report. This is a serious discrepancy, and shows the arbitrary nature of the Board's investigation. Furthermore, it is misleading to term the land cultivated by Japanese under various contracts as "land control," for the total acreage owned by the Japanese farmers in the State according to the Report is only 74,769, or 1.9 per cent of the total irrigated area of the State. In the "total acreage owned by Japanese," the Report has included *irrigated and non-irrigated lands, grazing and forest lands.* One wonders why this total has been compared merely to the *total irrigated land instead of to the total land area of California?* When the total land owned by Japanese is compared to the total acreage of the State, it amounts to but .07 per cent.

Let us further examine these figures. According to the figures obtained by the Japanese Association of America in 1919, the amount of land owned by Japanese farming corporations in the State of California was 44,135 acres. This does not include acreage owned by the corporations outside of the State. However, when we calculate the total amount of acreage owned by the corporations formed under the State law of California, owned both in the State and out of it, there will be an appreciable increase in number of acreages so controlled. A case reported to this Association was of a tract of land of 3,000 acres located in New Mexico, owned by a corporation of Southern California. The discrepancies found between the figures of this Association and those of the State Board of Equalization and State Commissioner of Corporations may be interpreted in the situation I have explained above. If the above premises are true, it should not be understood that the total of 74,769 acres is controlled by Japanese corporations in the State of California.

Further analysis of figures for leased land—383,287 acres—given in the Report shows—(1) leased land under cash rent, (2) sharing in crops, and (3) contract on sharing or cash. It is only on leased land that the Japanese agriculturists exercise limited control. As for the other two classes of land, they are not controlled by the Japanese who work the land, but by land owners. Therefore, when the Report states that Japanese and Japanese corporations occupy 458,056 acres of the best land in California, it is contrary to fact.

Another misstatement is made in the Report as to comparative values of crops raised by Japanese in 1909 and 1919. Here again the statistical comparisons are based on the information obtained from two different sources, as in the case of acreage under Japanese cultivation. "The Report shows that the crop valuations for 1909 are $6,235,856 and for the year 1919 $67,145,730, a total increase in value of crops raised by Japanese during the ten-year period of 976.8 per cent." The Report further asks this question: "Should the American farmer view with alarm this rapid increase in agricultural lands occupied by Orientals, with the attendant increase in total annual crop valuations?" According to the State Bureau of Labor Statistics for 1909, acreage

under Japanese cultivation was 83,252 and the crop valuation $6,235,856. According to the Japanese Year Book for 1910, the total value of seven principal crops under Japanese cultivation in 1909—namely, fruits, grapes, beets, potatoes, celery, berries, and green vegetables—was estimated at $12,800,000, instead of $6,235,856 reported by the State Bureau of Labor Statistics. The Bureau of Labor Statistics for 1909 gives no estimate of the value of the crops of potatoes and celery, but, according to the Japanese Year Book, celery raised by Japanese in that year amounted to $56,000 and potatoes to $2,150,000. If we add those figures, together with the others estimated in the Japanese Year Book, to the value estimated by the State Bureau of Labor Statistics, we have the following results:

Value of crops estimated by Japanese American Year Book:		*Values estimated by Bureau of Labor Statistics and not in Japanese American Year Book:*	
Fruits	$ 3,850,000	Seeds and nursery	$206,770
Grapes	1,950,000	Hops	46,000
Beets	1,550,000	Hay, grain, corn	28,530
Potatoes	2,150,000	Cotton	17,100
Celery	560,000	Miscellaneous	230,955
Vegetables	2,050,000		
	$12,800,000		$529,355
Total			$13,329,355

Therefore, the increase we have here is 406.7 per cent, instead of 978.8 per cent given in the Report of the Board of Control. When we consider the increase in the prices or value of crops during the last ten years, there is nothing abnormal in the increase of the value of crops cultivated by Japanese farmers.

Again, the Report states that "in some of the richest counties in the State, Orientals occupy a total acreage ranging from fifty to seventy-five per cent of the total irrigated area." Enough has been said of the contribution of the Japanese farmers to the agricultural development of the State. The fact, however, must be noted that the larger portion of the land now cultivated by Japanese was originally very poor, but has become fertile only since the Japanese farmers took hold of it. The cases of Florin, Livingston, rice fields of Colusa and neighboring counties, and particularly the delta region of the Sacramento Valley, are ample evidence that the Japanese farmer in California has been a great developer and improver. As an American observer puts it, "Where the Japanese farmer has taken over lands that were in use before his time he has usually, if not always, put them to a far higher use and made them more valuable than they were before. But with a great portion of the lands he now farms he has developed them out of nothing or next to nothing."

The Report fails to point out a very significant point. From the tables given in the Report it is evident that the Japanese have taken up the kinds of farming shunned by other farmers, such as berry, celery, and asparagus culture, requiring a stooping posture on the part of the workers. The Japanese, being comparatively short of stature, are particularly adapted to such farming.

On the other hand, the percentage of acreage cultivated by the Japanese is very small in such farming as grain, hay, corn, fruit, and

nut culture, which requires comparatively little manual labor. The figures show that in such fields American or Caucasian farmers are predominant. The tables are significant, showing that the Japanese do not compete with American farmers, but have filled the gap created by the unwillingness of the latter to engage in certain kinds of farming. Furthermore a careful observer estimated the income of the Japanese farmer, after deducting all the production expenses, to be about ten per cent, when crops and prices are normal, of the total crop valuations. The remainder is distributed among rent, taxes, labor transportation charges, commissions to the middlemen, and various other items.

Even in the graphic presentation in the Report of maps in reference to Oriental occupation of land, one is led to believe that the land area so occupied is almost overwhelming. Thus the relief map of the State showing principal districts "*occupied*" by Japanese, Chinese, and Hindoos has this explanation: "*Dark sections occupied by Orientals.*" On the map we find five large dark sections which cover almost the entire valley regions of the State, and according to the explanation we are led to believe that those sections are actually "*occupied*" by Orientals, mostly by Japanese. Yet when we examine carefully these dark sections, they are not the land areas occupied by the Orientals, but simply the areas in which Orientals cultivate land more extensively than in other places. As the five maps following the one above referred to clearly show, lands cultivated by Orientals in those sections are only small percentage of the total areas.—(See five maps, pages 54 to 63 in the Report.) Yet, according to the legend on the relief map, it is indicated specifically that these are the areas "*occupied*" by Orientals. Can this be called a fair presentation of the facts?

The Land Problem in Japan.—In dealing with the land problem in Japan the Report says that it is an erroneous impression that Japan is incapable of supporting her increasing population on her crowded islands. There are millions of acres of land available in Japan, according to the Report, but the people live contentedly on their narrow fields. To support this allegation the Report has printed statements quoted from some periodicals and a book written by a European observer. According to the dispatch quoted by the Report, "all the arable lands in the different municipalities and prefectures, according to the investigation of the Department of Agriculture and Commerce, amount to 2,000,000 cho, or 5,000,000 acres, of which 1,500,000 cho, or 3,250,000 acres, would be opened up for rice and vegetable fields beginning in 1919." Take this figure as authentic; then Japan will have in the near future these lands reclaimed and available, plus 14,309,783 acres (Report, p. 72) already in cultivation, making an aggregate of 19,309,783 when every inch of arable land is cultivated. Keep this in mind for a time in comparing this figure with other figures quoted in the Report. Mr. Carl Crow, from whose book other quotations are taken, stated that "the government authorities, after a careful survey of the entire country, have reached the conclusion that, simply by reclaiming and putting under cultivation the land which is inclined at an angle of less than 15 degrees, the area of arable land may be

doubled." Unfortunately, Mr. Crow does not tell us from what government report he obtained his figures, and we are not sure of the aggregate of the cultivated area upon which the author based his calculation. But suppose he has taken the figure I have given here—namely, 14,309,783—and doubled it, we get 28,619,566 acres, which is in fact about 10,000,000 acres more than the figure obtained for the total arable area by the recent Government investigation. The State Board Report, in quoting these discrepancies, has never analyzed the situation. Furthermore, Mr. Crow's observations on the character of Japanese agricultural life are entirely erroneous. He informs us that the Japanese are not mountaineers, but dwellers of the plains and valleys. Evidently he must have seen just those plains and valleys, but entirely ignored millions who live in the mountains, miles and miles away from modern transportation systems, and cultivate hillsides and mountain slopes which are terraced with an ingenuity developed by age-long experience.

Then, again, we are informed in another extract that Hokkaido, the northern island "is hardly populated." Now, Hokkaido has a population of 2,359,097, according to Japan's official census of 1920, and an area of 36,158.7 square miles. This makes 60.2 persons per square mile. We have here the figures obtained from the statistical report of the State Board of Agriculture of California for 1917 (page 1 and page 21), which gives the total area of this State as 158,297 square miles, and of the population estimated in 1916 at 2,938,654. This is 18.8 persons per square mile for California. Therefore, the density of Hokkaido is more than three times that of this State. Yet we are told that this northern island of Japan is "hardly populated." How could these two contradictory statements be reconciled as an authentic and accurate report of information pertaining to the Japanese problem?

Suppose Japan were to develop some three or four million acres of land in the future and make them available for over fifty million Japanese farmers, it is erroneous to think that this fact would bear any relation to the present Japanese problem in California. What is the mere handful of land area now cultivated by Japanese compared with the farm land area of approximately 28,000,000 acres, less than 40 per cent of which has been improved and irrigated? Applying the logic of the Report, why should the Californians make so much out of the insignificant problem of Japanese agricultural pursuits in a State which possesses such a vast amount of unimproved land, while in the same report it speaks of the nominal land area which may be available to a neighboring people? Our plea is not for the Japanese in Japan, but for those who are already here, doing their share in developing the resources of the State and proving their industry and industrial skill. Let no more immigrants come to the State, if such is the desire of the people of California, but let those who are here share in opportunity to pursue their life work without discrimination and unfair treatment.

We call attention of the reader to the following statement made by Mr. Flanders Setchel of Fresno, which is published in the Report (page 106):

"Whilst desirous of avoiding any expression of opinion as to advisability or otherwise of permitting Japanese to further acquire owner-

ship of lands in this State, it must be conceded by all that whenever Japanese have succeeded in acquiring ownership of land they have proved themselves industrious and efficient farmers, and I have personal knowledge of numerous instances where they are regarded as entirely satisfactory and acceptable neighbors by American farmers living on adjacent properties. I have observed that a number of influential farmers of this State have recently expressed themselves as favoring an importation of Chinese under contract, for the purpose of providing a counterpoise to the recalcitrant Japanese, who apparently lack the desired docility and willingness to accept such conditions as these farmers regard as good enough for them. These same farmers would be quite willing to accept Japanese coolies, provided they could be compelled to remain coolies. The demand for the Chinese is premised upon the theory that he will remain a coolie, either by his own choice or alternatively by compulsion. In conclusion, it seems to me that the methods employed by some of those agitating for further restriction of Japanese land occupation are such as are liable to produce incidents of international significance and of highly deplorable effect. The issue is, above all, one for calm and dispassionate consideration, but some phases of the agitation savor strongly of deliberate incitement of racial prejudice and even of mob violence, and are in the highest degree regrettable."

Compare the above comment with the following statement made in the Report (page 102) under the caption "Working and Living Conditions":

"The working and living conditions of the Japanese farmers and farm laborers make successful competition by American farmers almost impossible. The Japanese farmers and every member in the family physically able to do so, including the wife and little children, work in the field long hours, practically from daylight to dark, on Sundays and holidays, and in the majority of cases, live in shacks or under conditions far below the standards required and desired by Americans."

It is a statement made without analyzing the situation. Presuming, however, that such unhappy conditions prevail among Japanese, those conditions are a result of the land law which denies land ownership to the Japanese and restricts leasing to three years. By the new initiative law, even a three-year lease has been stopped.

On the questions of "picture brides," the Gentlemen's Agreement, smuggling, citizenship, and schools, the Report shows no analysis of the facts and of the working of various social, economic, and administrative factors entering into the present conditions. On the contrary, it gives only vague generalizations, based upon such assumptions as would lead to the preconceived conclusion that the Japanese should be excluded, not because they are a menace to the State, but because a certain group of people has formed their notion that they should be excluded. It is natural, therefore, that with this assumption the questions discussed have not been properly approached. The question of Japanese schools is dismissed with a comment covering scarcely two pages. It is apparent that no concrete observations have been made. Furthermore, the comparison of the Japanese schools in continental United States with those of Hawaii, without any analysis of the social conditions of the two ter-

ritories, is one of the evidences which shows the unfair attitude of the Report in dealing with the other phases of the Japanese problem. Again, unfortunately, some of the statements made in the Report are contrary to facts. For example, on page 163 the Report states: "His (Japanese immigrant's) passport is not viséed nor examined by a United States Consul in Japan, but is passed upon the sole authority of the Japanese government." According to the present immigration regulation, every Japanese coming here must present his passport to the United States Consul in Japan and have it viséed by him before leaving Japan. Every passport brought to the immigration officials on this side bears testimony to this fact.

According to the joint order of the Department of State and the Department of Labor, issued on July 26, 1917, and the Executive Order issued on August 8, 1918, by a Proclamation of the President of the United States, governing the issuance of passports and the granting of permits to depart from and enter the United States, the act requires each passport to be viséed by American Consuls in foreign countries on diplomatic missions. Mr. J. Stanley Moore, Chief of the Visé Office of the State Department, informed me of the recent passport regulation as follows: "Japanese seeking to leave Japan for America are required to present passports in person to the American Commissioner or Consul in the district where they reside. At the office of the Commissioner or Consul they should make a declaration or application for a visé, permitting them to proceed to the United States. They should take with them three small photographs. The fee for preparing the alien's declaration or application is one dollar and the fee for the visé is nine dollars. These fees must be paid by the alien to the American Commissioner or Consul abroad."

Thus the fact is clear that the data contained in the Report are inaccurate and insufficient to prove that the presence of Japanese in California is a menace to the State or to the advancement of the white civilization. We reiterate the erroneous attitude assumed by the State Board of Control in passing opinion upon the Japanese question upon the strength of such insufficient investigations, and proposing such uncalled-for measures as the present initiative act prohibiting Japanese from holding or even leasing land in the State. Governor Stephens's present attitude is not based upon convincing facts. It appears that the Report was drawn up merely to fortify a preconceived assumption, namely, that the presence of the Japanese in this State is an "invasion." The psychology of such undue fear in the minds of the Californians may be analyzed on the basis of the reaction against the Japanese, not "as an individual, but regarding him as an abstraction, a symbol not merely of his own race, but of the Orient and of that vague, ill-defined menace they sometimes refer to as the "Yellow Peril."

In the final analysis it is absolutely necessary that we shall see the problem from a dispassionate point of view, and in dealing with a problem so complex and vital as the immigration problem, we should approach it in the spirit which is so well expressed by ex-President Roosevelt: "We must treat with justice and good-will all immigrants who come here under the law. Whether they are Catholic or Protestant, Jews or Gentiles, whether they come from England or Germany,

Russia, Japan, or Italy, matters nothing. All we have a right to question is the man's conduct. If he is honest and upright in his dealings with his neighbor and with the State, he is entitled to respect and good treatment. Especially do we need to remember our duty to the stranger within our gates. It is the sure mark of a low civilization, a low morality, to abuse or discriminate against or in any way humiliate such a stranger who has come here lawfully and is conducting himself properly. To remember this is incumbent on every American citizen, and it is, of course, peculiarly incumbent on every government official, whether of the nation or of the several States."

CHAPTER XIII

GOVERNOR STEPHENS AND THE JAPANESE PROBLEM

Last June Governor Stephens transmitted to Hon. Bainbridge Colby, Secretary of State, the Report prepared by the State Board of Control on Oriental immigration, population, and land ownership. With it the Governor sent a letter to Secretary Colby, summarizing the Report and indicating his attitude on this question. In the preceding chapter we have given an analysis of the Report. Here we deal more specifically with the Governor's letter to Secretary Colby.

As to the spirit of the letter, all of us who have had an opportunity of reading it agree that it was written with the utmost cordiality and frankness and without enmity toward the people of Japan or the Japanese in California. Unfortunately, Governor Stephens was led to draw his conclusions from data which were, in many instances, inaccurate and were presented by unscientific methods. It is a serious duty of the leaders of both peoples to consider the problem dispassionately, basing their conclusions on authentic facts and seeking a solution for the best interest of all. In presenting this paper I have strictly followed this idea and attempted to correct misstatements and misconceptions, which, if not corrected, may result in serious consequences.

In summarizing, the State Board's Report on the Japanese population the Governor in his letter to Mr. Colby makes this statement:

"Ten years ago the census of the United States Government showed a Japanese population in California of 41,356. ('California and Orientals,' p. 7 *f.*) A survey and computation recently made by the Board of Control of the State of California indicates that at the present time this population has been more than doubled—it amounting now to 87,279."

It has been already pointed out that the Japanese population in 1910 consisted largely of male laborers. Therefore, when the Governor states that the "population has been doubled," the statement conveys the idea that within the last ten years the Japanese population of the laboring class has been doubled. But the fact is that during the period under discussion we have had over 20,000 children born of Japanese parents in the State, while over 13,000 wives have arrived to join their husbands and establish their homes in this country, in addition to the arrival of some 5,000 minors who are dependants of Japanese residents here. This leaves a small number of adult males who have come to resume their former residence in this country.

In regard to land control by Japanese farmers, the Governor states that "the increase in acreage control within the decade has been 412.9 per cent and the crop valuation approximately tenfold." He bases this statement upon figures tabulated in the Report of the State Board of Control. It has been pointed out in the preceding chapter that this increase, according to the Japanese-American Year Book for 1910, is from 195,959 acres in 1909 to 427,029 acres in 1919, instead of from

83,253 acres to 458,056 acres as stated in the Report. We have also shown that the increase of crop values is only five-fold, instead of ten-fold. When we consider the rise in land values and other commodities in the last ten years, this five-fold increase is but a normal increase, showing that the Japanese farmers in the State have followed the general business prosperity and particularly abnormal price inflation resulting from the War. It is unjust, therefore, to blame the Japanese farmers, merely because through their industry and intelligence they have made progress in agricultural lines, and to call this progress a menace to the community. We admit their shortcomings, but these are common to all new immigrants. We are trying to solve these complicated problems. We seek no unfair advantages of industry but only a just treatment and the enjoyment of a peaceful and orderly life.

As to the possible racial problem and "the deep-seated and often outspoken resentment of white mothers at the presence of Japanese children in the public schools," we may refer to the statements made by the educators of the State, under whose supervision a large number of Japanese children receive instruction, and who are, therefore, qualified to pass judgment on the Japanese children taught in public institutions with white children. A Japanese minister inquired of principals of seven graded schools in the State as to ability, merits, deportment, etc., of Japanese children in their schools. They replied unanimously that Japanese children gave them no trouble in the class rooms. One principal replied: "We have no difficulties in dealing with them. On the contrary it is a pleasure." Four replied that they had no difficulties in teaching the Japanese children. The sixth stated: "We have very little difficulty in the question of discipline. The only question comes in trying to communicate with them on account of language." The seventh did not touch directly on the question of discipline, but stated that Japanese children had a greater desire to master their lessons and learn correctly than other pupils. It is our opinion that the second generation of the Japanese in this country are more American than Japanese because of their contact with American school children. The Japanese children born in this country are, by virtue of their birth, American citizens. Being Americans they ought to be provided with the best opportunities for education and preparation for life in order to become good citizens.

Furthermore, the Governor's statement that "California's determination to exclude the Japanese is based fundamentally upon the ethnological impossibility of assimilating the Japanese," must be subjected to severe criticism both upon theoretical and practical grounds, because such generalization can not fail to have unfortunate influence upon the future development of the amity of the world. We maintain that the Japanese are assimilable and have presented our case in the report to the Congressional Committee on Immigration and Naturalization. Unfortunately, the Report prepared by the Board of Control, or the conclusion drawn therefrom by the Governor, fails to substantiate his statement either on theoretical grounds or in its practical aspect.

It is the opinion of the Governor that the Chinese Exclusion Act, which was passed by Congress in the eighties, and which provided "for

the exclusion of all Chinese laborers and registration of all Chinese at that time lawfully within the country," has effectively stopped Chinese immigration. The Governor, assuming that such legislation may also be effectively applied to the Japanese, recommends the exclusion of all Japanese except certain classes, and the registration of all Japanese lawfully within the United States at the time the act is issued. He also recommends that every Japanese within this country must prove his right to be here by the production of a certificate of registration. Even here, the Report upon which the Governor bases his conclusions has not given us the conclusive evidence to prove this assertion. On the contrary, the effectiveness of the Chinese Exclusion Act was largely because of the character of the Chinese immigrants then found in the State. According to the report issued in 1878 by the Senate Special Committee of California on Chinese Immigration (Chinese Immigration Report by Senate Special Committee on Chinese Immigration, Sacramento, 1878, page 238), the Chinese arriving at the port of San Francisco from 1852 to 1876 were 214,226, and those departing from the port during the same period were 90,089, the net increase being 124,137. Prior to 1852 the estimated Chinese population in the State was 10,000, making a total of 134,137, from which deaths must be deducted. Births among Chinese were so few and far between that they were unimportant in the estimation of the Chinese population. Deaths among the Chinese population in those days were about 2 per cent per annum. At this rate deaths since 1848 would reach nearly 24,000, which, taken from the surplus of arrivals over departures, leaves 110,000 Chinese in California. It is also estimated by this investigation that among 110,000 Chinese there were only 3,000 females, the remainder being male adults. Another observer wrote in 1880 that the estimated number of Chinese females in San Francisco was 1,800. ("The Chinese in California," Pettit & Russ, San Francisco, 1880, page 12.) All this evidence shows that the Chinese who immigrated to this coast prior to the Exclusion Act had established homes in no large numbers. On the contrary, when they made their fortunes many of them returned to their native land, never again to see the shores of America. Therefore, when no further immigrants of the laboring class were admitted to this country, it was natural that the number gradually decreased. Could such a measure be effectively applied to Japanese immigrants in California? Today the so-called increase of the Japanese population in California, as given in the Report of the State Board of Control, is caused not so much by the coming of new immigrants as by the increase of births. It is, therefore, doubtful that an exclusion act, such as applied to the Chinese, will effectively stop the increase of population by births among the Japanese immigrants. It is our belief that an effective remedy in this situation is not a discriminatory measure against the Japanese, but the co-operation of the Japanese Government to work out harmoniously the present immigration problem which involves the interest of both peoples, by enforcing further the restrictive measure against the immigration of the laboring class. In dealing with the Japanese within the boundaries of this nation, an opportunity should be given them to attain their economic and cultural development. When their

plane of life is elevated, their power of fecundity will fall according to the established law of the birth rate among all immigrant groups, and there will be no occasion for further alarm concerning the alleged high birth rate among the Japanese. This will be a fundamental solution of the problem for the Japanese, for the people of California, and for this great American Commonwealth.

As to the anti-alien land initiative measure, the Governor urged the people to pass it with an overwhelming majority, as an expression of protest by Californians against "Japanese immigration." Unfortunately, such a measure will not only fail to solve the problem, but will complicate the whole situation. We plead for just and fair treatment for the Japanese who have been legally admitted here, not to deprive them of their livelihood and peaceful pursuits in life. We ask for a square deal for these loyal people whose contributions to the State have been irrefutably proved, and whose industry and perseverance have been fully recognized. Their activities are not a menace, but an asset, to this State. This would be realized if the older settlers would approach them with friendly confidence and a spirit of cooperation. It is the hope and appeal of the Japanese in this country that this opportunity will not be denied to them. Will the Californian assume this attitude and meet the Japanese with an understanding heart for the mutual interest of both peoples? The fundamental and permanent solution of the problem depends upon the answer to this question.

CHAPTER XIV

CONCLUSION

Real Significance of Japanese Problems.—The Japanese problem in California is a local problem and at the same time an international question. In the first place, it is indisputably a California problem. As such it must be carefully differentiated from the negro question in the South or the Japanese question in the Hawaiian Islands. As such, the soil and atmosphere of California must be the basis of any tenable solution. In the second place, it is a Japanese-American problem, and as such it involves the friendship of the two nations. Japan desires the good will of America today more than ever, and the majority of the leaders in modern Japan are more than eager to foster and cement friendship with the United States. This is significantly true in view of two antagonistic ideals still current in modern Japan, militarism and democracy. The tide of democracy is steadily advancing in Japan. Japan needs greater co-operation of America in her efforts to establish democracy. We must co-operate in order that the spirit of democracy may become a ruling force in the world. Moreover, our friendship has been, and is, very cordial and harmonious. In the third place, the Japanese problem in California is a world problem. We can no longer accept Kipling's famous epigram that the West and the East shall never meet. On the contrary, it is our firm conviction that the best of the two continents, with all their histories and civilizations, shall meet and that the world shall find a higher and nobler civilization out of the amalgamation of the two. The Pacific Ocean is the laboratory for this epoch-making experiment, which the Great Creator Himself is directing, and the hearty co-operation and wise sacrifices of the two nations are indispensable for its success.

California's Opportunity Misused.—California should wake up to realize the great opportunity of properly solving this great problem, which has such a tremendous significance and influence, locally, nationally, and internationally. In the light of all this, the problem needs most serious attention of all who are concerned, both Americans and Japanese, and careful study must precede a solution of the situation. It is unfortunate the California agitators fail to grasp the real significance of the issue. They have presented extraordinary cases as typical and emphasized exceptional conditions as general. Their arguments have been based upon seemingly appealing things, mostly assumptions and largely pseudo-facts, in order to arouse public sentiment through clever manipulation of imaginative psychology of the uninformed masses. They have had no actual and intimate contact with the situation really existing. I may almost say that they are entirely ignorant of the Japanese attitude and their problems. The whole question has been exploited in local politics.

Japanese in California No Menace.—When the problem is faced with more serious attitude and when the facts are impartially analyzed,

the Japanese question in California will appear in a new light. The Japanese have proved that they are assimilable and will prove it still more completely. They have shown that they are a valuable asset to California, with their industry and perseverance; they have demonstrated that they are peaceful, obedient, and law-abiding, yet constructive and progressive. Above all, they have expressed their faith in America and have given their best to her whenever opportunity offered itself. In the light of all this, it is highly necessary and urgent that ample time and full opportunity should be given and allowed them before a final verdict is pronounced. To avoid hasty generalization is a wise course always followed in scientific investigations, and the same principle is even more necessary in solving this great problem of the Japanese in California.

Moreover, with the faithful enforcement of the Gentlemen's Agreement, the Japanese immigration problem in continental America is not really a serious affair. Of course, I am not in favor of unlimited immigration. That is unquestionably an unwise policy, at least at the present time. But the door should be open to that extent that the Japanese population in America may become normal with a fair ratio of men and women. It is merely a matter of an additional 30,000 to 40,000 women. This addition is but a drop of water to America with a population of over 105,000,000 and with an annual influx of hundreds of thousands of immigrants from Europe. It is my sincere hope that America will be more humane and liberal in her dealings with her immigration question, particularly Oriental immigration.

Control of Japanese Immigration.—As to the method of future restriction, we think that the Gentlemen's Agreement is safe and sound, if only America is patient enough for a few more years until a normal condition is reached and prevails among the Japanese in America. In order to establish higher efficiency, it may be wise to modify the Gentlemen's Agreement so as to simplify and facilitate the practical working of it. But if it can not be satisfactorily settled in this way, it is highly advisable to find a reasonable and just method through diplomatic adjustment. If America is sincere, Japan will be more than willing to make the necessary concessions. The so-called Gulick plan is one way, while a joint-commission plan, if both parties find proper men and act sincerely, will be a still wiser procedure. Whatever be the method followed, the fundamental principles must be justice and equality.

Granting of Citizenship Fundamental.—While thus the outward problem is being adjusted, it is equally highly important that, as the late Theodore Roosevelt frankly recommended, strict justice should be accorded the Japanese who are already admitted here. Either by necessity or destiny, over 90 per cent of the Japanese in America will bring up their children in American schools and colleges, and will find their graves here. Raze all barriers of prejudice, sympathize with their destiny and struggle, and win them over to American ideals. Hatred and malice will solve nothing. Instead of branding them as undesirable and non-assimilable, show them your kindness and tenderheartedness. Instead of leaving them forever as foreign elements, baptize them with genuine Americanism, grant them the full privilege

of American citizenship, and make them patriotic and faithful American citizens. America will be broad and high-minded enough to apply the spirit of the Fourteenth Amendment to 120,000 Japanese in America, then, and only then, can you win their heart and soul.

America, through President Fillmore, extended a kind and welcoming hand to closed Japan and invited her to participate in world intercourse with the full assurance of a great future. And now the tide has been turned to drive the rising nation of the East back to its secluded corner. Can we not appeal again to that noble spirit which Commodore Perry represented seventy years ago? It is my sincere hope and appeal that we shall co-operate with the sincerest and broadest attitude until we shall have translated the great principles of democracy into our actual life.

APPENDIXES

APPENDIX A

FACTS IN THE CASE

[*A statement issued by the Japanese Association of America in October, 1920*]

While the petitions for the proposed Anti-Alien Land Initiative Law were being circulated for signatures, our Association received numerous letters from Americans asking for information on the question.

When Mr. George Shima, president of our Association, published an appeal to the people of California, he was deluged with letters, asking him to furnish more data bearing on the question.

As the November election approaches, we are receiving more and more letters from various clubs and societies, not only asking for literature on the question, but urging us to send speakers to present our side of the case before their meetings.

These facts encourage us to believe that the public is open-minded and means to be fair. Unquestionably it is willing and eager to hear both sides.

Substance of the Initiative Measure

This measure now before you proposes (a) to prohibit land ownership by Japanese, (b) to prohibit leasing of farm land by Japanese, (c) to prohibit the acquisition of real property by American-born Japanese minors, who are American citizens, under the guardianship of their parents, (d) to deprive the Japanese parents of their natural right to be the guardians to their minor sons or daughters owning real property, (e) to escheat real property to the state upon certain prima facie presumptions, (f) to prohibit the Japanese from taking any interest in any company or corporation owning real property.

Increase of Japanese Farming

If you study the growth of Japanese farming carefully, you will observe that most of the increase in farm lands cultivated by the Japanese appeared during the war. As a war measure both the Federal and the State Government encouraged the increased production of food materials.

Appeal after appeal was issued by them and the Food Administration, urging the farmers to extend their acreage and to increase their produce. The Japanese Association and the Japanese farmers' organizations in California were repeatedly called upon to render their assistance in the execution of the war-time agricultural policy adopted by the authorities. These organizations translated, and published in newspapers and in pamphlets, the declarations and appeals issued by the President and the Food Administration.

The Japanese, having lived while at home under an efficient, though somewhat bureaucratic, government, had been trained to respect offi-

cial proclamations and instructions. It was but natural that our farmers in California responded to the call of the President and the Food Administration heartily and promptly. Not only did they extend their acreages, but some Japanese, with no farming experience, embarked upon agricultural ventures from motives of public duty. Most of such inexperienced farmers lost heavily and have already withdrawn from the field.

With the restoration of normal economic conditions and the decline in the prices of food materials, the total acreage operated by the Japanese is bound to decrease.

Japanese Land Control Very Little

California's land area measures 99,617,280 acres, of which 28,000,000 acres are farm lands.

According to the report of the Board of Control, which is the basis of the Governor's letter to Secretary Colby, of the 28,000,000 acres classified as farm lands the Japanese cultivate 458,056 acres, that is, 1.6 per cent of California's total farm lands.

For the sake of clarity we tabulate acreages cultivated by Japanese in various forms:

1. Owned by Japanese individuals	26,988
2. Owned by American corporations with Japanese shareholders	47,781
3. Cultivated by Japanese under cash-rent lease	192,150
4. Cultivated by Japanese under crop-share contract	121,000
5. Cultivated by Japanese under labor contract	70,137
Total	458,056

Of these five classes, acreage owned by Japanese individuals is justly said to be under Japanese control.

Acreage owned by corporations, in which the majority of shares are held by Americans, can not be regarded as under Japanese control.

In the case of cash-rent leases, the Japanese tenants may be said to control the land they cultivate for the period of the lease.

In the case of crop-share and labor contracts, the Japanese have no control over land.

We have seen that under the war stimulus acreage cultivated by Japanese increased a great deal. But this increase is by no means as great as is commonly assumed.

The report of the Board of Control states that in the past ten years this increase has been 412 per cent. This calculation is made upon the basis of an inaccurate and altogether too low estimate of the acreage cultivated by Japanese ten years ago.

Ten years ago there was no authentic official estimate of farms operated by Japanese. Figures of the Bureau of Labor Statistics, upon which the calculation of the Board of Control is based, are not accurate.

According to our own investigations, made in 1909, farms cultivated by Japanese in that year totaled 195,948 acres, instead of the Board of Control's 83,253 acres.

In our estimate, therefore, the increase in the past ten years is 117 per cent instead of the Board's 412 per cent.

This increase, as we have explained in a foregoing passage, was due chiefly to the stimulus of the war and the encouragement of the government.

In this connection it may be noted that in most cases the Japanese have taken waste lands, considered by American farmers to be unsuited for profitable farming, and by dint of industry and patience converted them into highly productive farms.

Again, they have specialized in certain kinds of farming, usually avoided by American farmers, and therefore do not come in competition with the latter.

No Japanese Control of Farm Produce

California's farm products are valued at $507,000,000, of which Japanese produce amounts to $67,145,000, that is, 13 per cent of the total.

Out of the total of $67,145,000, representing the value of Japanese production, 35 per cent goes to landowners as rents, 45 per cent to labor in the form of wages, leaving only 20 per cent to Japanese tenants or contractors.

While the Japanese are producers, they have no power to control the prices of their products.

For fruits, beans, berries, and rice, in the culture of which the Japanese are most interested, growers' associations have been organized to fix prices and to protect the general interests of the growers, but in the direction and management of such organizations the Japanese have no voice, for those are controlled by more influential American landowners and producers.

Japanese Population

The census of 1910 shows a Japanese population of 41,356 for the State as against the total population of 2,377,549, a matter of 1.7 per cent.

The census of 1920 estimates the total population of California at 3,426,536, but the census figures for the Japanese population alone are not yet available.

Taking as correct the figures of the State Board of Control for the Japanese population for 1919, i. e., 87,279, the percentage of the Japanese to the total population is 2.5 per cent.

But there is grave doubt as to the accuracy of the Board's figures. Our own investigations, which we believe to be as accurate as any such investigations can be, show that the Japanese population in the State at present is about 78,628, or 2.2 per cent of the total.

If the present negotiations between the governments of Japan and America result in a more effective restriction of Japanese immigration, the proportion of the Caucasian and the Japanese population will change more favorably for the Americans.

Japanese Birth Rate

According to the California Board of Health, Japanese births in California in 1910 were 2.2 per cent of total births. In 1919 this in-

creased to 7.4 per cent. This increase is due to abnormal conditions and will soon decline.

In the first place, immigrants of all races have large families in the first generation, but from the second generation the birth rate, irrespective of race, begins to decline. The Japanese in California are no exception to this general tendency.

Again, Japanese immigrants came to this country at first without wives. But in the past seven or eight years these Japanese have invited their wives to join them. Sudden increase in Japanese births was the natural result.

To compare the Japanese birth rate of 1910, when only a few of the Japanese had their wives here, to that of 1919, when a majority of them were married, is not the right way of estimating the rate of increase in Japanese births under normal conditions.

In the past decade or so most of the Japanese adults have married. As the average age of these adults is about forty, it is reasonable to presume that the birth rate among the Japanese will soon begin to decline.

If the negotiations now going on between Washington and Tokyo result in a new agreement, it will bring about a condition more favorable to California.

Japanese births, at their highest point of increase, have not exceeded 7.4 per cent of total births. It must be remembered that 90.8 per cent of babies born in the State are Caucasian. Figures for Japanese births should not be considered independently, but should be considered relatively with other births and the steady increase of the Caucasian population in California.

No Hawaiianization of California

We have shown that out of California's total population of 3,426,536, only 78,628 are Japanese, a matter of 2.2 per cent.

In a few years, this proportion will become even more favorable to the American population, for the reasons we have set forth.

In the meantime Americans east of the Rockies will continue to come to live in California, all tending to increase the Caucasian population in the State, and make the Japanese population relatively smaller.

Under these conditions there is no danger of California being Hawaiianized, as some seem to fear.

The history of the growth of the Hawaiian population is unique and abnormal. It does not and can not serve as a basis of forecast for any State on the continent.

To begin with, Hawaii was not a white man's land. Years before the American annexation of the islands, American capitalists, in small numbers, went there to develop sugar plantations. As the islands were too far from the continent, and as their climate was too hot, these plantation operators could not get American labor, but relied upon labor brought from the Orient. So they brought Japanese laborers by shiploads. From the beginning these Americans never intended Hawaii to be a white man's land—they plainly intended it to be a land of the natives and Orientals. When America finally annexed it

in 1897, she inherited the conditions that had already been established by ceaseless importation of Oriental labor by a handful of Americans who had been there to develop its sugar resources. Had America been in a position to apply to Hawaii the same restrictive measure that she has applied to continental United States, Hawaii would have had an entirely different sort of population.

To argue from Hawaii to California is illogical. Here in California the American population, since the Chinese exclusion, has always been preponderant, and promises to be increasingly so. Today the Japanese population here constitutes only 2 per cent of the total population. With steady inflow of Caucasian population from across the Rockies, and with the increasing Caucasian births within the State, California has not the slightest chance of ever becoming a second Hawaii.

Japan's Alien Land Laws

In this connection you will allow us to explain the real status of Japanese land laws as applied to aliens.

In Japan foreigners as individuals are not allowed to own land, but judicial persons enjoy this right even though they include no Japanese members or interests. Again, foreigners, even as individuals, can lease land of any description for fifty years on an equal footing with natives, and can also hold the right of superficies for unlimited periods. Superficies for one thousand years, for instance, is considered almost as satisfactory as ownership. In addition to these rights foreigners in Japan enjoy the right of lease-in-perpetuity which was established in the days when exterritoriality was exacted by foreign nations. Under these liberal provisions, there is no doubt that American farmers would flock to Japan if Japan were as large and resourceful a country as America, and if America were as small and congested with population as Japan is.

Our Faith in American Justice

The Japanese in California are not excited over the situation. They are facing it calmly and in a philosophical frame of mind, because they have faith in the goodness of the American heart, in the fairness of the American mind, and in the innate sense of justice of all true Americans.

We do not doubt that the people of California will think twice before they decide to vote upon such an important measure as has been presented to them, involving the grave question of the national honor and justice in the defense of which their fathers did not hesitate to sacrifice even their own blood.

They will also consider that negotiations are now going on between the American and the Japanese Governments with a view to finding a basis upon which to solve the question in a way satisfactory to the fair-minded people of California.

We do not doubt that all these facts will be carefully weighed by the public, and we feel justified in hoping that in the end California will be fair and just, and will settle the matter "with malice toward none, with charity for all."

APPENDIX B

APPEAL TO JUSTICE

[*A statement issued by George Shima, President Japanese Association of America, October, 1920*]

There are now being circulated petitions for an important initiative measure. This measure is directed against all peoples from Asia, but especially the Japanese. Its object is:

1. Absolute prohibition of land ownership by Japanese.
2. Absolute prohibition of leasing of farm land by Japanese.
3. Prohibition of the American-born Japanese minor, an American citizen, from acquiring real property under the guardianship of his or her own parent. To put it another way, the Japanese parent is prohibited from being the guardian to his or her own minor son or daughter acquiring real property.
4. Prohibition of the Japanese from becoming a member of, or acquiring any share in, any company or corporation owning farm land.
5. The confiscation of real property upon certain prima facie presumptions.

These are the main points of the proposed measure, which for severity and harshness, has no equal. Around these main points are wound detailed provisions, all evidently conceived in the idea that the Japanese should not be permitted to till the soil, that they should play no part in the development of California's agricultural resources —except as wage laborers.

Obviously these extreme proposals involve the question of constitutionality. Strong argument can be advanced against them upon the ground that they are unconstitutional.

To us, however, the prime consideration is not a legal one, but one of justice and equity.

In our judgment, and we trust, in the judgment of all true Americans, this proposed legislation is an infringement upon the fair play and square deal traditional with the American nation.

The people of Japan, for two generations, have been taught friendship and good-will for the people of America. They have fostered respect for the ideals and institutions of the United States. Your great emancipators, your champions of liberty and equality have been idols of our students and young men. Your missionaries have preached to us not only the Christian gospel of brotherhood but the American ideals of equality and equity.

We know that the Constitution of the United States guarantees to all "persons" under the American flag the equal protection of laws. We have believed, as we still believe, that this is a promise of protection for the homes and fortunes of all who come here under the law and under the treaty to help develop your great resources by their labor and enterprise.

In the face of all this, it is hard for us to believe that the present agitation against us has the sanction of Americanism—that it springs from the heart of the true American.

We know that there is no trouble between Americans and Japanese who come in direct and intimate contact with each other. Americans who employ or are employed by Japanese have no complaint against us. American business men and bankers who have dealt with Japanese have little to say against us. American workmen are willing and eager to work for Japanese. They work harmoniously and friendlily side by side with Japanese laborers. Why allow outsiders, who know little about us, who have their own axes to grind, to stir up ill-feeling and animosity where there is no cause for them?

We recognize that racial difference engenders a race feeling. But no one will deny that this is a feeling which should not be fostered or deliberately stirred up. All sensible men will agree that it is criminal to exploit that feeling for ulterior purposes.

The hope of our age lies in the effort to minimize race feeling. Its spirit, its ideal, its tendency is not to emphasize, but to alleviate racial difference. If we make business of fanning and feeding race feeling, there can be no hope of international peace, and all efforts for a league of nations must be set at naught. Surely race feeling should not be injected where there is no occasion for it.

Permit us to repeat that between Americans, who deal with Japanese, and Japanese, who deal with Americans, there exists little or no cause of trouble. Is it the part of wisdom to permit outsiders to create discord where harmony prevails?

We wish it clearly understood that we advocate nothing akin to free immigration. On the contrary, we recognize the wisdom of restricting Japanese immigration. We, therefore, believe that the "gentlemen's agreement" is a wise arrangement. If there be any doubt as to its interpretation or its enforcement, there should be frank and straightforward exchange of views between the two governments.

With this in view we took the initiative in stopping the arrival of "picture brides." Need we say that our minds are always open to friendly, reasonable suggestions and advices calculated to improve our relations with our neighbors?

Our only contention is that those Japanese who, comparatively small in number, are already here, should be treated justly and equitably. A policy of discrimination and persecution will merely complicate the question and render its solution all the more difficult.

We have not neglected to foster Americanism among the Japanese in California. We have always co-operated with the American authorities or organizations in the Americanization movement. We have issued circulars and pamphlets, and sent out lecturers, explaining to the Japanese throughout the State what American ideals stand for.

The Japanese in California never fail to respond, and respond heartily, whenever they are called upon to shoulder their share in patriotic or charitable enterprises. Their economic activities have been deeply curbed by various devices, legislative, and otherwise, making it extremely difficult for them to improve their financial status,

and yet they have never shirked their duty in regard to any undertaking calculated to advance public welfare.

The proposed initiative measure, outlined at the outset, will, if adopted, condemn the Japanese in California to a status little better than that of slaves or serfs. It will deprive them of all opportunity for material progress and economic advancement. It will render it impossible for them to provide for the future of their American-born children who are going to remain here as American citizens. Is it wise, is it in conformity with the American tradition of fair play, is it calculated to promote America's own welfare, that such a law should be adopted, virtually compelling the Japanese in California to fling upon the world, upon the American community, their sons and daughters, unprovided, and ill-trained to perform duties as members of a body politic of which these American-born children are destined to be a factor?

As we listen to the passing storm of passion, of denunciation, of abuse and slander, we ask ourselves if we were mistaken in our belief in your honor, in our faith that you would not strip us of the protection of the common law of equity and deny us the equal protection of your laws.

It is a painful question. We are few in numbers, defenseless except by the truth. You are a myriad in numbers and strong. You are taught at your altars to love your neighbors and that it is a scarlet sin to bear false witness against them. Surely you would not heed those who make business of spreading falsehoods about us, and urge you to persecute your peaceable, industrious, and law-abiding neighbors such as the Japanese?

Our good opinion of you and your country may seem of little value to you. But it has been of great value to us. It has guided us on our hard march onward for the past sixty years. It was a march to which your land summoned us, with promise of peace and friendship at its end. If you listen to enemies of the world's good order, and deny us that promise which we have followed as a great light, how can you summon others to trust you?

Many of the foregoing statements undoubtedly require elucidation and amplification. Some should be supported by statistical data. Perhaps, too, there should be an explanation of Japanese laws concerning the expatriation of Japanese abroad and the rights of aliens in Japan, for these Japanese laws are much more liberal than are commonly known to you.

But we feel it advisable to make this appeal as brief as possible. With that consideration in mind we have deliberately omitted such data as might otherwise well have been included herein. But the Japanese Association, whose headquarters are at 444 Bush Street, San Francisco, will undoubtedly be glad to supply any one interested in this question with such information as it possesses or may be able to obtain.

APPENDIX C

AGREEMENT OF JAPANESE ASSOCIATION

PART 1—GENERAL RULES

Article 1—This Association shall be known as the Japanese Association of America.

Article 2—The purpose of this Association shall be to elevate the character of every Japanese residing in America, to protect their rights and privileges, to promote their happiness and prosperity, and to cultivate better understanding between the peoples of Japan and the United States of America.

Article 3—This Association is organized by the local Japanese associations within the jurisdiction of the Japanese Consulate-General of San Francisco.

The requirements and qualifications of affiliation between this Association and each local association shall be decided by the Executive Council.

Article 4—The office of the Association shall be in the City of San Francisco, State of California.

PART 2—OFFICERS AND SECRETARIES

Article 5—There shall be the following officers of the Association, to wit: a President, a Vice President, a Committee on Finance, consisting of four (4) members; a Committee on Management, consisting of seven (7) members, and a Board of Directors, consisting of fifteen (15) members.

The officers of this Association shall not receive any compensation.

Article 6—The President, the Vice President and the Committee on Management shall be elected by the Board of Directors from among the members of each local association affiliating with this Association.

The Committee on Finance shall be selected by the President.

The Board of Directors shall be elected at the Delegate Convention.

Article 7—The term of office for the officers shall be one year but they may be re-elected for another term.

A vacancy in any office or position shall be filled for the unexpired term by the Board of Directors.

Article 8—The President shall preside over the meetings of the Committee on Management of the Board of Directors; he shall supervise each and every affair of the Association; and he shall represent the Association in general.

The Vice President shall assist the President and perform the latter's duties during his absence.

The Committee on Management shall organize itself into a meeting of the Committee on Management and shall manage the business of the Association.

Article 9—The Board of Directors shall organize the meeting of the Board of Directors and shall elect the President, the Vice President, and the Committee on Management; it shall also carry out the business of the Association according to the resolutions adopted by the Delegate Convention.

Article 10—The Committee on Management shall meet once a month. A special meeting of the said Committee may be called by the President when he shall deem it necessary or at the request of one-third or more votes of the members of the Committee.

The Board of Directors shall meet four times a year, to wit, in January, April, July, and October.

Article 11—The secretarial staffs of the Association shall consist of a General Secretary, several Assistants, and several Clerks, and they shall be appointed by the President by the consent of the Committee on Management.

Article 12—The General Secretary shall execute the general business of the Association under the supervision of the President; the Assistant Secretaries and Clerks shall execute their respective duties under the instruction of the General Secretary.

PART 3—DELEGATE CONVENTION

Article 13—The Delegate Convention shall be constituted by the representatives of the local affiliated Japanese associations, according to the following apportionment:

Japanese Association of San Francisco	6
Japanese Association of Sacramento Valley	3
Japanese Association of Fresno	3
Japanese Association of Stockton	2
Japanese Association of Oakland	2
Other Associations, each	1

In case of a newly affiliated association, the representations for the first year shall be decided by the Board of Directors, which decision must be approved by the next regular Delegate Convention.

Article 14—The Delegate Convention shall meet once a year. A special Delegate Convention may be called by the President when he shall deem it necessary or at the request of five or more affiliated associations.

Article 15—The Delegate Convention shall consider and act upon the important business of the Association, shall discuss and approve the financial budget for the corresponding year, and shall examine the record and audit the financial report.

Article 16—A majority of the delegates shall constitute a quorum of the Delegate Convention, while a majority of the delegates present shall constitute a quorum for the business of the Convention.

PART 4—FINANCE

Article 17—The current expenditures of the Association shall be met by the avowed dues from local affiliated associations, certificate fees, and voluntary contributions.

Article 18—The fiscal year of the Association shall begin each year on the first day of January and shall end on the thirty-first day of December.

Article 19—The income and the expenditure of the Association shall be fixed by the annual appropriation.

PART 5—BY-LAWS

Article 20—This Agreement shall be amended only by the two-thirds votes of the delegates present at the Delegate Convention.

Article 21—The By-laws of this Agreement shall be formulated at the meeting of the Board of Directors.

APPENDIX D

CALIFORNIA ANTI-ALIEN LAND LAW

(Adopted by Initiative, November 2, 1920.)

The people of the State of California do enact as follows:

SECTION 1. All aliens eligible to citizenship under the laws of the United States may acquire, possess, enjoy, transmit, and inherit real property, or any interest therein, in this state; in the same manner and to the same extent as citizens of the United States, except as otherwise provided by the laws of this state.

SEC. 2. All aliens other than those mentioned in section one of this act may acquire, possess, enjoy, and transfer real property, or any interest therein, in this state, in the manner and to the extent and for the purpose prescribed by any treaty now existing between the government of the United States and the nation or country of which such alien is a citizen or subject, and not otherwise.

SEC. 3. Any company, association, or corporation organized under the laws of this or any other state or nation, of which a majority of the members are aliens other than those specified in section one of this act, or in which a majority of the issued capital stock is owned by such aliens, may acquire, possess, enjoy, and convey real property, or any interest therein, in this state, in the manner and to the extent and for the purposes prescribed by any treaty now existing between the government of the United States and the nation or country of which such members or stockholders are citizens or subjects, and not otherwise. Hereafter all aliens other than those specified in section one hereof may become members of or acquire shares of stock in any company, association, or corporation that is or may be authorized to acquire, possess, enjoy, or convey agricultural land, in the manner and to the extent and for the purposes prescribed by any treaty now existing between the government of the United States and the nation or country of which such alien is a citizen or subject, and not otherwise.

SEC. 4. Hereafter no alien mentioned in section two hereof and no company, association, or corporation mentioned in section three hereof, may be appointed guardian of that portion of the estate of a minor which consists of property which such alien or such company, association, or corporation is inhibited from acquiring, possessing, enjoying, or transferring by reason of the provisions of this act. The public administrator of the proper county, or any other competent person or corporation, may be appointed guardian of the estate of a minor citizen whose parents are ineligible to appointment under the provisions of this section.

On such notice to the guardian as the court may require, the superior court may remove the guardian of such an estate whenever it appears to the satisfaction of the court:

(a) That the guardian has failed to file the report required by the provisions of section five hereof;

(b) That the property of the ward has not been or is not being administered with due regard to the primary interest of the ward; or

(c) That facts exist which would make the guardian ineligible to appointment in the first instance; or

(d) That facts establishing any other legal ground for removal exist.

SEC. 5. (a) The term "trustee" as used in this section means any person, company, association, or corporation that as guardian, trustee, attorney-in-fact, or agent, or in any other capacity has the title, custody, or control of property, or some interest therein, belonging to an alien mentioned in section two hereof, or to the minor child of such an alien, if the property is of such a character that such alien is inhibited from acquiring, possessing, enjoying, or transferring it.

(b) Annually on or before the thirty-first day of January every such trustee must file in the office of the secretary of state of California and in the office of the county clerk of each county in which any of the property is situated, a verified written report showing:

(1) The property, real or personal, held by him for or on behalf of such an alien or minor;

(2) A statement showing the date when each item of such property came into his possession or control;

(3) An itemized account of all expenditures, investments, rents, issues, and profits in respect to the administration and control of such property with particular reference to holdings of corporate stock and leases, cropping contracts and other agreements in respect to land and the handling or sale of products thereof.

(c) Any person, company, association, or corporation that violates any provision of this section is guilty of a misdemeanor and shall be punished by a fine not exceeding one thousand dollars or by imprisonment in the county jail not exceeding one year, or by both such fine and imprisonment.

(d) The provisions of this section are cumulative and are not intended to change the jurisdiction or the rules of practice of courts of justice.

SEC. 6. Whenever it appears to the court in any probate proceeding that by reason of the provisions of this act any heir or devisee can not take real property in this state or membership or shares of stock in a company, association, or corporation which, but for said provisions, said heir or devisee would take as such, the court, instead of ordering a distribution of such property to such heir or devisee, shall order a sale of said property to be made in the manner provided by law for probate sales of property and the proceeds of such sale shall be distributed to such heir or devisee in lieu of such property.

SEC. 7. Any real property hereafter acquired in fee in violation of the provisions of this act by any alien mentioned in section two of this act, or by any company, association, or corporation mentioned in section three of this act, shall escheat to, and become and remain the property

of, the State of California. The attorney general or district attorney of the proper county shall institute proceedings to have the escheat of such real property adjudged and enforced in the manner provided by section four hundred seventy-four of the Political Code and title eight, part three of the Code of Civil Procedure. Upon the entry of final judgment in such proceedings, the title to such real property shall pass to the State of California. The provisions of this section and of sections two and three of this act shall not apply to any real property hereafter acquired in the enforcement or in satisfaction of any lien now existing upon, or interest in such property, so long as such real property so acquired shall remain the property of the alien, company, association, or corporation acquiring the same in such manner. No alien, company, association, or corporation mentioned in section two or section three hereof shall hold for a longer period than two years the possession of any agricultural land acquired in the enforcement of or in satisfaction of a mortgage or other lien hereafter made or acquired in good faith to secure a debt.

SEC. 8. Any leasehold or other interest in real property less than the fee, hereafter acquired in violation of the provisions of this act by any alien mentioned in section two of this act, or by any company, association, or corporation mentioned in section three of this act, shall escheat to the State of California. The attorney general or district attorney of the proper county shall institute proceedings to have such escheat adjudged and enforced as provided in section seven of this act. In such proceedings the court shall determine and adjudge the value of such leasehold or other interest in such real property, and enter judgment for the state for the amount thereof together with costs. Thereupon the court shall order a sale of the real property covered by such leasehold, or other interest, in the manner provided by section twelve hundred seventy-one of the Code of Civil Procedure. Out of the proceeds arising from such sale, the amount of the judgment rendered for the state shall be deposited with and distributed by the court in accordance with the interest of the parties therein. Any share of stock or the interest of any member in a company, association, or corporation hereafter acquired in violation of the provisions of section three of this act shall escheat to the State of California. Such escheat shall be adjudged and enforced in the same manner as provided in this section for the escheat of a leasehold or other interest in real property less than the fee.

SEC. 9. Every transfer of real property, or of an interest therein, though colorable in form, shall be void as to the state and the interest thereby conveyed or sought to be conveyed shall escheat to the state if the property interest involved is of such a character that an alien mentioned in section two hereof is inhibited from acquiring, possessing, enjoying, or transferring it, and if the conveyance is made with intent to prevent, evade, or avoid escheat as provided for herein.

A prima facie presumption that the conveyance is made with such intent shall arise upon proof of any of the following groups of facts:

(a) The taking of the property in the name of a person other than the persons mentioned in section two hereof if the consideration is paid

or agreed or understood to be paid by an alien mentioned in section two hereof;

(b) The taking of the property in the name of a company, association, or corporation, if the memberships or shares of stock therein held by aliens mentioned in section two hereof, together with the memberships or shares of stock held by others but paid for or agreed or understood to be paid for by such aliens, would amount to a majority of the membership or the issued capital stock of such company, association, or corporation;

(c) The execution of a mortgage in favor of an alien mentioned in section two hereof if said mortgagee is given possession, control, or management of the property.

The enumeration in this section of certain presumptions shall not be so construed as to preclude other presumptions or inferences that reasonably may be made as to the existence of intent to prevent, evade, or avoid escheat as provided for herein.

SEC. 10. If two or more persons conspire to effect a transfer of real property, or of an interest therein, in violation of the provisions hereof, they are punishable by imprisonment in the county jail or state penitentiary not exceeding two years, or by a fine not exceeding five thousand dollars, or both.

SEC. 11. Nothing in this act shall be construed as a limitation upon the power of the state to enact laws with respect to the acquisition, holding, or disposal by aliens of real property in this state.

SEC. 12. All acts and parts of acts inconsistent or in conflict with the provisions hereof are hereby repealed; provided, that—

(a) This act shall not affect pending actions or proceedings, but the same may be prosecuted and defended with the same effect as if this act had not been adopted;

(b) No cause of action arising under any law of this state shall be affected by reason of the adoption of this act whether an action or proceeding has been instituted thereon at the time of the taking effect of this act or not and actions may be brought upon such causes in the same manner, under the same terms and conditions, and with the same effect as if this act had not been adopted;

(c) This act in so far as it does not add to, take from, or alter an existing law, shall be construed as a continuation thereof.

SEC. 13. The legislature may amend this act in furtherance of its purpose and to facilitate its operation.

SEC. 14. If any section, subsection, sentence, clause, or phrase of this act is for any reason held to be unconstitutional, such decision shall not affect the validity of the remaining portions of this act. The people hereby declare that they would have passed this act, and each section, subsection, sentence, clause, and phrase thereof, irrespective of the fact that any one or more other sections, subsections, sentences, clauses, or phrases be declared unconstitutional.

APPENDIX E

STATISTICS OF JAPANESE IMMIGRATION AND JAPANESE IN CALIFORNIA

TABLE I

JAPANESE ARRIVALS TO AND DEPARTURES FROM CONTINENTAL UNITED STATES

(Official Figures of Commissioner General of Immigration)

Year—	*Arrivals*	*Departures*
1908	9,544	4,796
1909	2,432	5,004
1910	2,598	5,024
1911	4,285	5,869
1912	5,358	5,437
1913	6,771	5,647
1914	8,462	6,300
1915	9,029	5,967
1916	9,100	6,922
1917	9,150	6,581
1918	11,143	7,691
1919	11,404	8,328
1920	12,868	11,662

NOTE: The decline of figures in 1909 is the result of the working of the "gentlemen's agreement." The "gentlemen's agreement" admits (1) former residents of the United States, (2) parents, wives, and children of residents, and (3) settled agriculturists. This is, of course, in addition to non-laboring Japanese, such as diplomats, merchants, financiers, students, etc., who are free to come.

Increase of Japanese arrivals in the past several years is due to these facts:

(1) Due to the war Japanese officials, business men, etc., going to Europe, have passed through the United States. The figures for such Japanese must be twice the actual number, because they are counted once at Pacific ports upon arrival of those Japanese from Japan, and counted again at Atlantic ports upon their return there from Europe.

(2) The war obliged Japanese students, who would have gone to Europe in normal times, to come to the United States.

(3) The enormous increase of American-Japanese trade by the war caused many Japanese firms to send agents to America and to establish branch offices and agencies in San Francisco, Seattle, New York, and other leading American cities. Many of the office forces brought their families with them. These naturally increased Japanese arrivals.

In 1914 Japan imported from America $54,000,000 worth of commodities. In 1918 this increased to $275,000,000. In other words, Japanese purchases from America increased more than five-fold in five years. In the same period Japanese exports to America increased three times.

TABLE II

JAPANESE ARRIVALS CLASSIFIED AS LABORERS AND NON-LABORERS

(Official Figures of Commissioner General of Immigration)

Year—	*Laborers*	*Non-Laborers*
1909	675	1,757
1910	589	1,909
1911	726	3,556
1912	894	4,464
1913	1,371	5,400
1914	1,762	6,700
1915	2,214	6,815
1916	2,958	6,142
1917	2,838	6,321
1918	2,604	8,539
1919	2,278	9,126
1920	3,682	9,186

NOTE: The "gentlemen's agreement" prohibits the admission of "new" laborers from Japan, but admits Japanese of the following three classes, whether laborer or non-laborer: (1) Former residents, who return to America within 18 months following their departure from America. (2) Parents, wives, and children of Japanese residing in America. (3) Japanese who have settled in America as agriculturists.

The Japanese Government, of course, makes it a rule not to issue passports to laborers other than those coming under the above classification. But it is sometimes difficult to distinguish a laborer from a non-laborer. The Japanese Government may issue a passport to a Japanese whom it believes, upon inquiry, to be a non-laborer, but in the judgment of the American immigration authorities this same Japanese may be regarded as a laborer. Such cases are quite conceivable.

Many laborers in this table have departed for Japan, but figures for departing laborers are not obtainable, because the reports of the Commissioner General of Immigration do not classify departures to laborers and non-laborers.

TABLE III

JAPANESE ARRIVALS TO CONTINENTAL UNITED STATES CLASSIFIED AS MALES AND FEMALES

(Reports of Commissioner General of Immigration)

Year—	*Males*	*Females*	*Total*
1909	1,777	867	2,644
1910	1,648	1,039	2,687
1911	2,377	1,905	4,282
1912	2,930	2,428	5,358
1913	4,012	2,759	6,771
1914	5,034	3,428	8,462
1915	5,542	3,487	9,029
1916	5,869	3,231	9,100
1917	5,833	3,326	9,159
1918	7,100	4,043	11,143
1919	7,034	4,370	11,404
1920	7,630	5,238	12,868

NOTE: The above figures include minors.

It is difficult to ascertain how many of these women are so-called "picture brides." In the next table (Table IV) figures are given for the "picture brides" who have entered the United States through the port of San Francisco. Figures for other ports are not obtainable.

The majority of these women are wives who married before their husbands left Japan for this country, and who, therefore, are not "picture brides."

TABLE IV

JAPANESE WIVES (SO-CALLED PICTURE BRIDES) ARRIVING PORT OF SAN FRANCISCO

(Compiled by Japanese Association of America February, 1921, from the Record of the San Francisco Immigration Office)

Year—	*Number*
1912	879
1913	625
1914	768
1915	823
1916	486
1917	504
1918	520
1919	668
1920	697
Total	5,970

NOTE: When a man living in America desires to marry, but is prevented by various reasons from going home, he writes to his parents and asks them to find a suitable woman for his bride. The parents, following the usual custom and rules, fix on an eligible person. Then they intimate to the girl's parents that they are desirous of securing her marriage to their son in America. The parents on either side spare no pains in inquiring into the character, social standing, family relations, genealogy, health and education of the young man and woman. If this investigation proves satisfactory, both to the parents and to the prospective groom and bride, the man in America sends his photograph to the woman, and receives her photograph in exchange. This "interview" through photographs proving satisfactory to both parties, the nuptial knot is tied at a ceremonial dinner in which the groom, living in America, is naturally absent, but which is attended by the bride and the parents and relatives of both sides. This done, the parents register the marriage with the proper authorities. This marriage has been regarded as valid both by the Japanese and American Governments. This practice was abolished February 25, 1920, by the Japanese Government.

TABLE V

JAPANESE POPULATION IN CALIFORNIA

A—Figures obtained October, 1920, by the Japanese Association of America

Men	34,797
Women	15,714
Boys under 16 years	10,693
Girls under 16 years	9,829
Total	71,033

B—Federal Census of 1920

Male	44,364
Female	25,832
Total	70,196

In a statement issued November 15, 1920, Director of the Federal Census gives the following facts:

The population of California for 1920 is 3,426,861, of which 70,196 are Japanese. The figures for 1910 were total population 2,377,549, Japanese 41,356.

The Japanese population constituted 2 per cent of the total population in 1920, 1.7 per cent in 1910. The increase in the Japanese population since 1910 was 28,840, or 69.7 per cent.

TABLE VI

JAPANESE POPULATION IN CALIFORNIA (EXCEPT NINE SOUTHERN COUNTIES) CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO OCCUPATIONS

(Figures obtained October, 1920, by the Japanese Association of America)

Professionals	455
Students	395
Business	2,772
Agriculturists	4,633
Farm laborers	10,982
Mechanics	121
Fishing	147
Laborers other than agricultural	1,628
Miscellaneous	257
Women and children	21,784
Occupation not mentioned	448
Total	43,622

TABLE VII

JAPANESE BIRTHS AND DEATHS IN CALIFORNIA

(Official figures of State Board of Health)

Year—	*Births*	*Deaths*
1908	455	431
1909	682	450
1910	719	440
1911	995	472
1912	1,467	524
1913	2,215	613
1914	2,874	628
1915	3,342	663
1916	3,721	729
1917	4,108	910
1918	4,218	1,545
1919	4,458	1,113
1920	4,829*	995*

**Incomplete returns, subject to correction.*

NOTE: The rate of increase in Japanese births shown in this table is abnormal, and will soon decline. The sudden increase in 1912 is due to the fact that about that time Japanese men in California began to marry. Since then a majority of men who intended to marry, have married. Consequently in a few years the rate of increase in Japanese births from year to year will begin to decline. This point must be borne in mind in examining this and the following tables.

It is estimated by the Japanese Association of America that from 1908 to 1920 Japanese wives in California, including "picture brides," increased at a yearly average of 1,000, while the average yearly increase of Japanese births in the same period was 465. This shows that even at present the tendency is for decrease of births. According to the same estimate, the average age of Japanese adults is about 40. Within a few years, therefore, Japanese births will show marked decrease.

TABLE VIII

PERCENTAGE OF JAPANESE BIRTHS TO THE TOTAL BIRTHS IN CALIFORNIA AS COMPARED WITH THAT OF WHITE BIRTHS

(Official figures of State Board of Health)

Year—	*Percentage of Japanese Births to Total Births*	*Percentage of White Births to Total Births*
1908	1.6	96.8
1909	2.2	96.3
1910	2.24	96.13
1911	2.86	95.45
1912	3.73	94.57
1913	5.05	93.19
1914	6.25	91.89
1915	6.95	91.26
1916	7.35	91.38
1917	7.87	90.59
1918	7.57	91.17
1919	7.82	90.86
1920	7.21*	89.09*

**Incomplete returns, subject to correction.*

TABLE IX

JAPANESE BIRTHS COMPARED WITH WHITE BIRTHS IN CALIFORNIA

(Official figures of State Board of Health)

Year—	*Total Births Including all Races*	*White Births*	*Japanese Births*
1908	28,077	27,190	455
1909	30,882	29,736	682
1910	32,138	30,893	719
1911	34,426	33,245	995
1912	39,330	37,194	1,467
1913	43,852	40,864	2,215
1914	46,012	42,281	2,874
1915	48,075	43,874	3,342
1916	50,638	46,272	3,721
1917	52,230	47,314	4,108
1918	55,922	50,986	4,218
1919	56,019	50,898	4,458
1920	66,955*	59,655*	4,829*

**Incomplete returns, subject to correction.*

TABLE X

COMPARATIVE REPRODUCTIVE FREQUENCY OF WHITES AND JAPANESE IN 1920

(Figures compiled by E. L. Ross, Director, Bureau of Vital Statistics, California State Board of Health, March 11, 1921)

A—Comparison of White and Japanese Births by Number of Previous Births to Same Mother

	Live Births Classified by Number of Previous Births to Same Mothers										
No. Previous Births.....	*0*	*1*	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5*	*6*	*7*	*8*	*9 and over*	*Total Live Births*
White Live Births*.....	27,728	14,658	8,859	5,257	3,196	2,021	1,378	922	610	1,016	59,655
Japanese Live Births*...	1,427	1,230	952	620	340	145	62	30	12	11	4,829

*Incomplete returns, subject to correction.

B—Percentage Based Upon the Above Figures.

	Percentage of Live Births Classified by the Above Figures for Previous Births to Same Mother										
No. Previous Births.....	*0*	*1*	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5*	*6*	*7*	*8*	*9 and over*	*Total*
White Live Births.....	36.4	24.6	14.9	8.8	5.4	3.4	2.3	1.5	1.0	1.7	100%
Japanese Live Births....	29.7	25.5	19.7	12.8	7.0	3.0	1.3	0.6	0.2	0.2	100%

Note: From the above figures Director Ross, of the Bureau of Vital Statistics, estimates the average white family (parents plus children) at 4.67 persons, and the average Japanese family at 4.63 persons. This shows that, contrary to indiscriminate statements published in newspapers, the average size of the Japanese family is slightly smaller than that of the white family.

TABLE XI

LAND CULTIVATED BY JAPANESE IN CALIFORNIA

(Figures obtained October 1, 1920, by Japanese Agricultural Association of California)

Classification—	*Acreage*
Owned by individuals	26,988
Owned by American corporations with Japanese shareholders	47,781
Cultivated by Japanese under cash rent lease	192,150
Cultivated by Japanese under crop-share contract	121,000
Cultivated by Japanese under labor contract	70,137
Total	458,056

NOTE: According to our investigations made in 1909, farms cultivated by Japanese in that year totaled 195,948 acres. The increase in the last eleven years, in our estimate, therefore, is 117 per cent.

In most cases the Japanese have taken up waste lands, considered by American farmers to be unsuited for profitable farming. When the Japanese, by dint of their industry, intelligence, and efficiency, prove the worth of such lands, the value and price of adjoining lands increases phenomenally. This has been the case at Livingston, Fresno, Florin and in Butte County.

Again they have specialized in certain kinds of farming, usually avoided by American farmers, and therefore do not come in competition with the latter.

TABLE XII

A—TOTAL LAND AND FARM AREA OF CALIFORNIA COMPARED WITH ACREAGE CULTIVATED BY JAPANESE

(Figures obtained October 1, 1920, by the Japanese Agricultural Association of California)

Total land area in California	99,617,280 acres
Area owned by Japanese	74,769 acres
Total farm land in California	27,931,444 acres
Acreage farmed by Japanese	458,056 acres

B—PERCENTAGE OF LAND CULTIVATED BY JAPANESE

(Figures obtained October 1, 1920, by the Japanese Agricultural Association of California)

California land area	100.00%
Acreage owned by Japanese	.07%
Farm land in California	100.00%
Acreage farmed by Japanese	1.64%

TABLE XIII

ACREAGE OF JAPANESE FARM AND ORCHARD

(Figures compiled March, 1921, by Japanese Agricultural Association)

Product—	*Acreage by Japanese*	*Total Acreage by All*	*Per Cent of Japanese Total Acreage*	*Value of Products by Japanese*
Berries	6,100	6,700	91%	$ 3,660,000
Onions	9,500	11,700	81.2%	1,045,000
Asparagus	10,300	15,900	65.4%	1,854,000
Green vegetables	44,500	75,400†	58.8%	10,235,000
Celery	3,000	5,630†	53.3%	660,000
Sugar Beets	51,300	123,500	41.5%	4,617,000
Cantaloupes	12,000	28,500	40%	2,400,000
Tomatoes	7,500	18,860*	39%	525,000
Nursery and seeds	15,200	41,600	36.5%	2,280,000
Rice	37,830	162,000	23.3%	728,000
Potatoes	18,500	95,000	19.5%	3,237,500
Grapes (in bearing)	56,000	360,000†	15.6%	16,800,000
Beans	40,000	285,000†	14%	480,000
Hops	1,260	12,000	10.5%	772,380
Corn	8,000	90,000	8.8%	320,000
Fruits and nuts (in bearing)	47,500	735,000	6.5%	5,937,500
Cotton	13,000	298,000	4.3%	637,000
Hay, grain, etc	350,000	4,250,000	.0%	2,025,000

*Cannery. †1918.

NOTE: Figures for acreage cultivated by Japanese are obtained by the Japanese Agricultural Association of California. Figures for total acreage are obtained from the official reports of the State Board of Agriculture and of the California Development Board.

This table shows the fields specialized by Japanese farmers. They have taken up the kinds of farming shunned by white farmers, such as berry, celery, and asparagus culture, which require a stooping posture on the part of the workers. The Japanese, being comparatively short in stature, are particularly adapted to such farming. The percentage of Japanese acreage is very small in such farming as grain, hay, corn, fruit, and nut culture, which does not require hard manual labor. In such fields American farmers are predominant. The table shows that the Japanese farmers do not compete with the American farmers. The Japanese simply filled the gap created by the unwillingness of the other farmers to engage themselves in certain kinds of farming.

TABLE XIV

JAPANESE IN FISHING INDUSTRY

NATIVITY OF FISHERMEN IN CALIFORNIA—1919-1920

(Figures obtained by California Fish and Game Commissioner)

The United States	1,482	29.1%
Japan	1,287	25.3%
Italy	1,227	24.1%
Austria	288	5.7%
All other nationalities	803	15.8%
Total	5,087	100.0%

NOTE: According to the Southern California Japanese Fishermen's Association there were in 1918, 235 Japanese boats at San Pedro District; in 1919, 213; in 1920, 168; showing the decrease in number annually.

TABLE XV

AMOUNTS CONTRIBUTED TO U. S. WAR LOANS BY JAPANESE IN CALIFORNIA

(Approximate estimate by the Japanese Association of America)

First Loan	$ 250,000
Second Loan	280,000
Third Loan	838,800
Fourth Loan	750,000
Fifth Loan	530,000
Total	$2,648,800

NOTE: A very large percentage of Japanese in California have joined the American Red Cross, although figures of such Japanese are not obtainable. In Contra Costa County, for example, it is said that almost all Japanese families have become members of the Red Cross.

There were only few American-born Japanese old enough to join the American army during the war. As far as we are able to ascertain, about twenty Japanese enrolled in the army and were sent to the front.